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- Art. I. 1. *Proceedings at a Meeting for the Formation of the Evangelical Voluntary Church Association, held on Wednesday Evening, Dec. 4, 1839.*
2. *Advocacy of the Voluntary Principle on Religious Grounds only.*
No. 1. *The Church of England and the Church of Christ. a Lecture delivered in the Town Hall, Hertford. By the Rev. JOHN BURNET.* London: J. Dinnis.

‘THE stars in their courses fought against Sisera;’ and the time of the turn of battle will come, whatever temporary disadvantages or defeats the cause of God and truth may have to sustain. Instead of being alarmed by the fierceness of the conflict, the boasting of the foe, or the occasional tergiversations of lowly or *lordly* friends, we are disposed to feel encouragement and to cherish hope. The raging elements will the sooner subside from their present vehemence; vociferation will only produce hoarseness and silence; and a change of policy in the doubtful rouse into renewed action a needful excitement. The warfare of the voluntary with the compulsory principle, we deem to be eminently a ‘good warfare.’ It is literally *pro aris et focis*; for, as the one or the other prevails, we shall witness the purity or corruption of Christianity, the vigor or the feebleness of personal religion, the dominion of righteousness, or the reign of exaction and tyranny. The great questions at issue now are, whether the mind shall be free or fettered; whether conscience shall be let alone or coerced; whether the building of churches, and the promotion of religion, are identical; whether the church of Christ requires for its support the prop of human authority, and the aid

of state patronage? And these again involve other and momentous inquiries; such as, what was Christianity in its primitive, unsophisticated character, as taught by its Divine founder, and diffused under his guidance by its original propagators? What was its theory—what its practice—what its weapons—what its effects, and how accomplished?—what its history—when it became associated with worldly administrations, obtained the protection, and spoke through the enactments of princes and potentates; exchanged the simplicity of the upper room at Jerusalem, and the cottage, and the highway, and the mountain-side, and the seashore, for the pomp of the palace and the cathedral—what its moral power when men began to persecute, and assume the right to tolerate others in the exercise of their faith, and the conduct of their worship—what its progress when the sword, but not the ‘sword of the Spirit;’ its sceptre, but not the sceptre of the ‘Prince of Peace,’ made martyrs of its apostles, and slaves of its subjects?

Upon a review of the past three hundred years, there will be found much, very much to furnish matter for grave and even melancholy reflection. Considering the noble struggles of the great promoters of the reformation, it was to have been expected that emancipated religion would have gone on conquering and to conquer. It was not unreasonable in the reformers to think, as they did think, that the bright æra of the millennium was beginning to burst upon a long-oppressed and misguided world, and that the principles of moral freedom and eternal truth, for which they contended, were about to march triumphantly through the length and breadth of the earth. It was natural, having struck so severe a blow, and inflicted so deep and deadly a wound on the man of sin, to look for the downfall of popery, and the irresistible success of a purer faith and practice. In truth, fair and glorious were the prognostications of the future at that auspicious period. There seemed to be men of the right spirit in action; the crushing encumbrance of resistless authority had been removed; the holy Bible was given to rejoicing millions in the German language. If ever it could be said, in any case, that the direct interposition of Providence was manifest, apart from mere visible and palpable displays to the senses, it may surely be affirmed, that it was then indisputable and obvious. As well in the singular origination of that great measure, as in all the circumstances of its early advancement, till the bravery and mastery of truth in its humble advocates subdued the power and discipline of the hosts of error and corruption, was to be seen a movement that extorted from ten thousand tongues the exclamation, ‘What hath God wrought!’ But, after the lapse of three centuries, what do we now find; and why do we find it? We find popery vigorous, and Protestantism turning pale at the sight; we find

the spirit of an Eckius reviving, and that of a Luther almost ready to quail. The christian world has been surprised at the resuscitation of exploded doctrines; the extravagant demands of newly constituted authorities; the plain and palpable stagnation of the Protestant mind. After this great lapse of time, during which so many controversies have been agitated, so many books written, so many mental giants have fought and bled in the field of illustrious strife for freedom and religion, what do we find, but christendom overspread with moral darkness, and even in this the most enlightened part of it; yea, even in this the nineteenth age of the christian æra, the very question which ought to have been settled long ago, which one would think to be of no very difficult solution, which is absolutely an elementary question, and fundamental to christianity, still in warm and rancorous discussion,—namely, whether the establishment of religion by the state, or the propagation of it by its own voluntary and truth-loving agents, be the legitimate and scriptural mode? One would think this is like debating whether the religion of Jesus has any intrinsic virtue and force, or whether he, perceiving the natural inefficiency of his own principles, called upon princes and potentates to prop his cause by their legislation, and provide for its increase by their countenance. It is like asking whether christianity is an outward ceremony, or an inward principle; if the former, it needs a worldly sustenance; if the latter, it must and can triumph alone by its self-sustained and self-propagating energy.

But why, we have inquired, do we find things in their present position? Why do men of note and talent betray the grossest inconsistencies, puzzle themselves and others with a labyrinth of theological perplexity, and pour forth their periodical denunciations upon those who conscientiously differ from their opinions, and deny their fallacies to be axioms; and why, in the form not only of what are technically denominated '*grievances*,' but in that of secret, insidious, petty persecutions, and less secret calumnies, do men continue to disparage the gospel, and disgrace the mitre? The answer, and the only answer, so far as we can discern, is—*the reformation itself was essentially defective*. It went deep, but not deep enough; it soared high, but not high enough. It was both less pure in its principle, and less perfect in its details, than it might have been. It did wonderful execution in lopping, and barking, and tearing asunder even the main stem, but did not lay the axe at the root of the great upas-tree of corruption. If ever christians were called in providence to the discharge of a high and most responsible duty, we believe it to be at the present crisis. Never was duty plainer—perhaps, never was difficulty greater; and the difficulty will be found, not merely in the formidable array of antagonist principles and combinations, but in the conflict which, in the fulfilment of their high vocation, Christ-

ians have to maintain with their own spirits. The perfection of a moral achievement is to do a great and good thing, and to do it in the right spirit. Before we take the sword of the Spirit in our grasp, we should 'wash our hands in innocency;' so that every thrust shall be a triumph before we gain the ultimate victory. The grand defect of the reformation was, that it did not aim at the subversion, nay, it even confirmed by the advocacy and practice of its leaders, the compulsory principle in religion. It sought the ruin of a popish, but upheld the scheme of a Protestant establishment. Its theory was unfounded; or rather, perhaps, it had no theory. The reformers, with all their sagacity, did not perceive that *they* were no more entitled to impose on the faith of others, than others had the right to impose on theirs: that Luther ought no more to judge and condemn Zuingli for his sacramentarian sentiments, or Calvin to burn Servetus for his heresy, than Leo X., or his successors, to give Luther to the magistrate or to perdition. Lutheranism ought no more to have been *established* than popery; for whether the authority in question was pope, monarch, or elector, it was a *human authority*, and religion, which sought to be untrammelled, was only allowed to serve a better master. But heaven has designed her for rule and not for servitude; and her appropriate and predestined dominion is over the mind and the heart. Her glorious crown is the affections of her subjects.

The vast and peculiar enterprise to which all enlightened christians are called in the present day, is to seek, by every proper and practicable means, to obtain the separation of the church from the state. Their business is to carry out and go beyond the reformation. It is not with a Carlstadt's violence to pull down images or altars, but with the argument of a Paul to convince, and with the love of a John to constrain. It is to demand inquiry; to pursue evidence; to explain Scripture; to oppose false theories, and resist vicious intrusions into the church of Christ; to ascertain and declare essential, long hidden, or much mutilated principles; to restore primitive practice, and to lay an unsparing hand upon soul-destroying corruptions. But we again say, and fearlessly maintain, that the one chief labor to which an enlightened church is now called, for which its members ought to pray and strive to unite, is to effect a separation of the true church from all its worldly adhesions, and to do this with all personal kindness to individuals who adhere to systems hostile to a primitive christianity: to make this their distinct and paramount object, that religion may stand forth in her unrivalled grandeur, in the majesty of her truth, and the power of her charity, and thus appear 'clear as the sun, fair as the moon, and terrible as an army with banners.'

And this we say the rather, because we perceive in the consti-

tution of the Evangelical Voluntary Church Association precisely that element which, in combination with others, apparent in prior institutions kindred in fundamental principle, will tend to promote good-will as well as good sentiment, and make the triumph in question substantially the victory of love. But before coming to the details of this society, we must be allowed a few more general observations.

The timid of all parties, but especially those whose interest it is to retain their present elevation, are alarmed at controversy and agitation, for the same reason that the rooks are afraid of tempestuous winds that may blow them out of their nests. But is there one reason in Scripture why we should conceal our views from any apprehension of immediate consequences; and can an overawed conscience be a peaceful one? Did any deference to existing authorities in the apostolic times prevent the teachers of christianity from going into the places of most public resort to urge their doctrines, though they were decried as aiming 'to turn the world upside down?' Besides, the agitations of controversy, to which in the yet conflicting state of opinions we are necessarily forced, tend to purify the moral atmosphere.

The evils incident to discussion have induced many to sacrifice the interests of truth to the desire of peace. The desire of peace is, doubtless, natural to every well constituted mind, and is accordant with the scriptural injunction, to 'seek peace and ensue it.' But neither reason nor scripture justify that morbid sensibility which is more alive to the feelings of individuals than the principles which should govern the world; and more concerned about personal repose than public good. If tranquillity can be obtained in connexion with the advancement of truth and religion, it is well; but if the alternative be, that peace or *principle* must be abandoned, the path of duty is clear, or apostles, martyrs, and reformers, have labored and died in vain.

An eminent writer has remarked, with regard to the duties of patriotism, 'Christianity, I allow, is a religion of peace; and whenever it universally prevails, in the spirit and power of it, wars will be unknown. But so will every other species of injustice: yet while the world is as it is, some kind of resistance to injustice is necessary, though it may at some future time become unnecessary. If our Saviour's command, that we resist not evil be taken literally and universally, it must have been wrong for Paul to have remonstrated against the magistrates at Philippi; and he himself would not have reproved the person who smote him at the judgment seat.' The applicability of this sentiment is obvious when Christianity is prevalent in all orders of society and throughout the world,—that is, pure, enlightened, biblical Christianity—religious controversies, as well as sectarian animosities, will cease; but while the world, and it may be added

the church, *is as it is*, opposition to error is requisite, though at some future period—some ‘*formosissimus annus*’ of the universe—it will terminate with its lamented cause.

Controversy is not, then, the unmixed evil which it has been incautiously pronounced to be; on the contrary, in the existing state of things, it is likely to prove, as upon the whole it has hitherto been, notwithstanding attendant inconveniences, a real good. It has elicited truth—enlarged the boundaries of human thought—purified the motives of human action—generated the spirit of free inquiry—emancipated the mind from the bondage of educational prejudice, the subtlety of sophistical plausibilities, and the thralldom of traditional and hereditary opinions—and called forth those intellectual giants and heroes of our race, who have conquered in the field of argument, and strengthened the fortifications of our faith. But for the moral conflict which the opponents of sound principle and scriptural knowledge have tempted to their own discomfiture, we might still have had battles to fight which are already won, and victories to achieve which are now only to be celebrated. But all is not yet accomplished; many a struggle is yet to be maintained: many an entrenched error is to be dislodged ere the fervors of controversy can subside into the glow of a heartfelt union and a universal peace.

The question about establishments may be regarded as a truly national one; and this, in fact, constitutes one of the difficulties of the discussion. It is already so intimately associated with the prejudices and passions of the community, that it is next to impossible for any one to investigate it with a cool head and an independent feeling. The spirit of sound inquiry which may easily be cherished in the pursuit of a metaphysical or mathematical thesis, is liable to deterioration in a thousand ways when the highest temporal or eternal interests are concerned, and when antecedent prepossessions have made men partizans rather than inquirers. There might be some chance of an unbiassed state of mind if there were no ecclesiastical establishment, and if without the parchments of parliament and an ecclesiastical soldiery, the question were simply, What is the divinely authorized constitution of a state with reference to its religious concerns? The case having been prejudged by the legislature, and the secular having been entwined with the spiritual interests of the people, so as to place the field of controversy in the midst of the most deeply rooted and widely spreading prejudices of successive generations, it is impossible not to perceive, *ab initio*, the disadvantages of the assailant's position. He is made to wage a warfare rather than to ascertain a principle; he must fight a system, rather than discuss a question.

But inasmuch as there is a church and a hierarchy as by law established, the present debate necessarily assumes a character of

national importance. The decision as to the right or wrong of this establishment must affect the welfare of the entire British community; and that in their most valued relations, and with regard to their far distant posterity; for it enters into the present constitution and framework of society; while on the one side it is affirmed and on the other denied, that our ancestral wisdom is the model and ought to be the undisputed guide of their children's and their children's children's religion in all future ages. We feel that it touches the very core of prejudice, that it involves exposure to the severest reproach, that it hazards reputation and peace to inquire—not whether the Church Establishment of England is the best—but whether (for that is the question) there ought to be an establishment of religion, that is, an alliance between church and state. Questions of property, and what have been denominated ‘vested rights’—questions of rank, title, law, and of hereditary power or precedence, with a thousand others are more or less connected with this great debate; sufficiently appalling, it is granted, to weak nerves and doubtful claimants, but not to be on that account abandoned. The startling terms of innovation and revolution ought not to frighten us from the course of duty, or alarm us from the investigation of truth; for apostles were revolutionists, and reformers were innovators. ‘These men that have turned the world upside down, are come hither also.’ The political changes of modern times have induced mankind to attach arbitrary ideas to words; incorporating a meaning not original to them, and investing them with horrors drawn from particular events and passing scenes. Hence innovation has been viewed as tantamount to rebellion, and revolution has been but another name for bloodshed and frenzy. These notions, too, have been transferred from politics to religion; and the opponents of corruption in the Church, pleading for the re-establishment of a pure, New Testament faith and practice, have been classed with the fiercest demagogues and wildest enthusiasts. With a strange inconsistency and sufficiently characteristic of weakness, the venerable Establishment has been lauded as impregnable in her foundations, and invulnerable to the attacks of her enemies; strong in all her bulwarks and consolidated by time; and yet as in extreme danger—and from what? A contemptible and ever jarring fanaticism! If it be fanaticism, it will fail; if it be contemptible, it may be let alone. But, in fact, it cannot be deemed, and is not, in spite of pretences, either the one or the other; and is only so represented by sycophancy or terror. The growing intelligence of the present age has brought into prominent view a question of mighty interest, the great debating parties are preparing for the onset, and have had already many a vehement skirmish; and neither will gain, but may greatly loose, by pouring obloquy on

the other; for no weapons will ultimately prevail but those of reason and of truth.

The importance of the question is further apparent from considering that it is essentially connected with the interests of personal religion, and with the promotion of practical Christianity. The advocates of state establishments have again and again urged the consequences of abandoning their principle, predicting as with an oracle's authority or a seer's foresight, the results, the fearful results to piety as well as to episcopacy, of the severance of Church and State. But this is what logicians term a *petitio principii*; for it is one of the points at issue, whether vital and personal Christianity would or would not be promoted by the non-establishment of religion, or by its emancipation when it is established, from the bondage of endowments. An appeal to consequences may or may not be a proper ground of argument according to circumstances, but it should be ultimate rather than primary.

Be it further observed, that the contest in which we are engaged is not about ceremonies but principles; and this enhances its importance. The form of church government and discipline, the arrangement of offices, and the disposal of funds, though not on some accounts insignificant questions, are here of subordinate interest: they form branches of the subject, but are not vital. It is not the assumptions of a hierarchy or the denials or severities of a strict nonconformity that demand discussion; for the main point would be left untouched whether we opposed or conceded the rights of ecclesiastical etiquette, decoration, and dress, whether it were permissible to wear the gown, or bow to the east, or bend at the altar; the point on which the controversy really turns, is the scriptural or unscriptural nature of an alliance between the Church and the State. This is not simply a dissenting,—it is truly a Protestant question, and is necessarily the most important subject of debate with the advocates of the catholic faith. This has not been and cannot, in fact, be the point in debate between the Catholic church and the Church of England, because here they are agreed, while they unitedly differ from the nonconformists of the present day; but this agreement is a bad omen, as we apprehend, for the great interests at stake, because, though the Protestant churchman may triumph over the Catholic in the argument upon many doctrines and ceremonies, it is impossible on this ground to overturn the system of Catholicism. Widely as they differ in various respects, yet here they are one, resting their pretensions on a similar basis; the first party pleading for a modified infallibility, if so incongruous a term may be allowed, which in the other is maintained without the same restrictions. On the main question it is only the Dissenter that can succeed. On any other ground than that which he assumes, the most prac-

tised logician must fail. It is the denial of the right of secular establishments of religion, and the enforcement of the Saviour's declaration, 'My kingdom is not of this world,' that can alone avail against the bold assertions and complicated sophistries of either communion. And let the giant of the Vatican or the giant of the Cathedral boast as he may, with this simple truth drawn from the pages of inspiration, the Dissenter feels that he has a stone and a sling that will achieve the victory.

Nor, indeed, is he single-handed; for the episcopalian may consistently enough sustain and sympathize with his efforts. Though the Church and the State were disunited, episcopalianism might survive, and that too in a purified state. In point of fact, there are multitudes already within the pale of the Establishment who, having discernment enough to perceive, and candor enough to confess, that as the interests of vital religion would not suffer but might be promoted, and as besides, the discipline as well as the essential doctrines of our ecclesiastical code might still be secure, though Church and State were separated, do not participate in the fear of consequences which so many others entertain at the possible dissolution of the alliance. In their judgment as well as in that of their Dissenting brethren, it would divest episcopalianism of its offensive character, abate the hostility of its enemies, and compensate in its glory as a sect for what it lost in its power as a hierarchy.

Were it not for the virulence of party feelings, from which it is but fair and candid to admit neither the advocates nor the opponents of an endowed establishment have been wholly exempt, it would be superfluous to remark that the contest is not with men, but systems. Dissenters have repeatedly expressed their admiration of individuals, and their sense of the importance of those services which, as literary or theological champions, many from whom they differ on the great question respecting a church and state religion, have rendered to the cause of Christianity; and Churchmen too have with an impartial integrity sometimes, though in our apprehension less frequently and less frankly, paid homage to the talents and labors of distinguished men who have been hostile to their ecclesiastical constitution. But these honorable concessions to truth and virtue ought not to hinder the investigations which a just regard to our highest interests demands, while they tend to check the wantonness of zeal and the pride of victory. It is easy to perceive *how* these mutual exasperations arise, for while human nature is what it is, resentment will be enkindled by an assault upon dear and long cherished opinions; and the more likely they are to yield to the assailant's force of argument and evidence, the stronger frequently will be the tenacity of adherence to them. Hence the fiercest persecutions that have ever disturbed the peace and shed the blood of the church,

have originated less in faith than in fear; the cause of the persecutor has not so much been maintained because it was felt to be true, as because it was believed to be endangered.

Still it ought to be observed, that the hostility is against *systems*. Instead of regarding this hostility as malignant, it ought to be viewed, if properly conducted, as an expression of Christian benevolence; and consequently, invective on the one side and recrimination on the other, are inapplicable and misplaced. The effort in argument, though it be even somewhat rude and vehement, when we believe our fellow Christian to be cherishing a serious error, resembles the zeal of him who should snatch and hurry a man from a precipice he did not perceive, or a quicksand on which he had ignorantly planted his foot. Whatever be the method adopted, the aim at least is kind; and though it should ultimately appear that the person who acted as a deliverer was himself suffering a delusion, charity should appreciate, as philanthropy must applaud his motive. But, unhappily, there are those, and often they are chiefs in this controversy, who can see nothing in the opposition offered to their nursed and dandled prejudices, but pure evil and bad passion. They view inquiry as an insult, and resistance to a favorite dogma or a well patronized scheme, as a treason against heaven. What is hoary with age is of course venerable; what is emblazoned with pomp, and patronage, and distinction, is unhesitatingly to be received; what is transmitted from distant times or comes sustained by the wisdom of our ancestors, is, necessarily, true. Thus men *reason*, or rather thus men *think*; till they are tempted to glory in the very shame of endeavoring to load with obloquy that which ought to be contemplated with esteem and hailed as an accessory of truth. In the controversialists upon this subject we often recognize a kind of sect of anthropomorphites, who imagine that essential divinity resides in the form and structure of their creed and system, and that to seek the demolition of their theological order or principle of discipline is to attempt an outrage upon the throne of God. No difficulty can exceed that of having to contend with such a state of mind; obstacles present themselves which seem all but insurmountable, at every step; for the discussion is, as it were, determined before it is begun. Instead of that calm inquiry which religion claims, and which can alone subserve its interests, the struggle is for victory or for show; it is an olympic game or a chivalrous tournament: the whole is settled by patronage or by dexterity. But it is surely high time to view the subject in its true light, to disentangle it from the perplexities of prejudice and personality, and to fix it on the basis of reason and revelation.

We now solicit the attention of our readers to the claims of 'The Evangelical Voluntary Church Association,' whose proceedings at a meeting appointed for its formation are recorded in

the pamphlet announced at the head of this article, and the title of whose first publication is also introduced. We propose to refer to its origin, its distinctive principle, and to what we have ascertained of its present plans and prospects.

With regard to the origin of this Association, it may, if we mistake not, be traced proximately to the lectures delivered by Dr. Chalmers, and, therefore, primarily to the hostile attitude against nonconformity assumed by the Christian Influence Society, to which it is in reality the plain and legitimate antagonist. After the delivery of Dr. Chalmers's lectures, a few individuals who were deeply impressed with the unfairness of the lecturer, and the unsophisticated rancor of the party that employed him to scatter fire-brands, arrows, and death, deemed it a duty which they owed to their fellow men, to adopt some measure which might be calculated to disabuse the public mind of the delusions conjured up by the magician's wand, and to establish some permanent method of awakening the religious feeling of the community, to a sense of the necessity of a more deliberate and dispassionate consideration of the general question of state establishments of religion. After some private conferences, a public meeting was called, and an association was formed, of which we have the account before us. To the special object of the society, as laid down in the rules and expounded by the speeches of Sir Culling Eardley Smith, Dr. Leifchild, Dr. Cox, Mr. Burnet, and others, we shall presently advert. In the mean time, we cannot but be struck with the fact that, some of the very persons who have been prominent in the support of those institutions which have assumed what has been termed the political ground of nonconformity, denouncing church-rates and other dissenting grievances, and appealing to parliament on the questions of civil and religious freedom—some of these very gentlemen are the leaders in this new movement which takes exclusively the religious ground, and in the language of the general title of their tracts, stands upon 'the advocacy of the Voluntary Principle on *religious grounds only*.' It may be asked, Have these gentlemen renounced their former principles, abandoned their former friends, or assumed for any party purposes a novel character? We believe no such thing; on the contrary, they are acting in perfect harmony with all their former declarations, and in unison with all their former associates. There is more than one road to the metropolis, and more than one method by which the same great end may be accomplished. They are no less voluntaries than they were, and no other in principle than they were—the steady friends of freedom—the steady opponents of a union of Church and State, in the promulgation of Christianity. Nor are they a whit the less inclined to sustain all the political bearings of the question, and the appeal to parliament if deemed necessary in other connexions

or aspects of the subject ; but only *here* according to the terms of this particular union, they are more distinctly and solemnly pledged to the promotion of the voluntary principle by an advocacy specifically founded on the religious basis. It is the only instance in which this point has been so prominently exhibited, and it is calculated to help forward the general question, inasmuch as those who go to the greatest length in their views, and are most decided in their utterance, may feel an identification of interest and purpose with the principles of this Society, while others, who are afraid of reproach—afraid of being called political—may concur in operations which are primarily based in religion. The Society challenges cooperation by maintaining the axiom that the one thing ought to be done and the other not left undone.

The distinctive principle, then, of the 'Evangelical Voluntary Church Association' is thus declared in one of its fundamental rules—'This society shall not take part in any appeals to the legislature of the country; but its business shall simply be to advocate and extend by means of public lectures, through the press, and in every other practicable way, the principle of Voluntary Churches; in the spirit of meekness and charity towards those of our Christian brethren, whether in or out of the Establishment, who dissent from its object,—and with the view of convincing and persuading their minds.' Some of the avowed opponents of church exactions and church establishments were at first a little apprehensive that this institution wore an unfavorable aspect towards them, and contained in it a tacit objection to their measures and objects; but they did not perhaps observe that without any expressed or implied reflection on them, it was only resolved that (not *they*), but *this society* should not take part in any appeals to the legislature of the country. Beside the great practical proof not only that this jealousy does not now exist, but that there is a general conviction that the Evangelical Voluntary Church Association is concurrent with the principle of all others which advocate the removal of the great grievance of a national church establishment, is, that both the Scotch and English ministers who represent other institutions, have united with this as corresponding agents to the number already, as we are given to understand, of between four and five hundred.

If the religious view of the question regarding a church establishment be not the only one that may be taken, it is at least among the most important; and not having before been brought forward with sufficient prominence, the Christian public must feel indebted to those who have united in this pious confederation. The sentiments expressed at the public meeting were worthy of the parties who gave them utterance; and we should be glad to extract largely from these speeches if our space permitted. But

other claims crowd upon us, and we must, therefore, restrict ourselves to the following remarks of the chairman.

‘I feel,’ observes Sir Culling Eardley Smith, ‘that the grand obstacle to what I conceive to be scripturally constituted societies, is the Establishment. I am not now speaking of the vast number of places where there are ministers (so called) who do not feel the love of Christ, and therefore cannot explain it. But I speak of the generality of parishes where the gospel is preached. Every person who attends Church, imagines that as a member of the National Church, he has a certain *status* as a Christian. Much more, every communicant is induced to regard himself as a person *fully* complying with the ordinances of Christ. There is, therefore, an utter want of corporate love and corporate action in the bodies which assemble round the communion table. I think if any Churchman were to be brought to feel that such sympathy as I have described is an indispensable condition of rightly constituted bodies of communicants, he would be the first to acknowledge that there is but little of the sort in the Establishment. I know what it was to me, for several years after I became interested about religion. The sacrament was a very awful and impressive ceremony to my mind, and I hope it reminded me of the love of Christ; but there was such a contradiction in its being administered by a man of the world, and partaken in by people who made no profession of loving Christ (one or both, as might be), that I never knew the delight of it till recently.

‘The great feeling, then, which I have is, that the machinery of a national establishment neutralizes the machinery of Jesus Christ. This last is a machinery so potent, that I believe if it was left to itself, it would soon send the gospel all over the world. Societies, really Christian, would have a silent eloquence, which would be worth all the professional missionaries in the world. Very much less money than is now spent, whether at home or abroad, would produce ten thousand times the effect, if all professing Christians were seen to love one another. But the consequence of establishments is, that persons who have no Christian love in their character, are deceived into thinking themselves Christians. Missionaries abroad, and pious ministers at home, have sad up-hill work, from this contradiction between the precepts of Christianity and the practices of professed Christians. If the State would but leave religion to its own unassisted energies, Christians would soon find each other out, and the loveliness and happiness of the system would soon commend themselves to every impartial conscience. The mass of talent, too, which is now shut up into small spheres, would then be set at liberty, for the promulgation of the gospel among the thoughtless and ungodly. A large proportion of pastors would be turned into evangelists. The mountain of the Lord’s house would be established on the top of the mountains, and all nations would flow unto it.

‘I cannot descend from this interesting view of the question to dwell upon the injustice of establishments. I feel their injustice most strongly. They unduly elevate one set of men, and unduly depress

another, not because they are better or worse men, or better or worse citizens, but because they give, or do not give, their formal adhesion to a certain form of words. Establishments also involve taxation of one man for the spread of another man's opinions. They stand in the way of Christian co-operation. They have taken the Bible Society and the Tract Society in England, by the voluntary retirement of individuals, out of the hands and the advocacy of Episcopalians, and placed them chiefly in the hands of Voluntaries. They occasion all sorts of jealousies. If I attend a voluntary chapel in a parish, the pious clergyman of the place threatens me with the loss of his friendship. If I wish to employ a Scripture reader in a godless village, even my pious friends wonder at my audacity. I feel that the Establishment is at the root of the whole evil, and now is the time to endeavor to convince people that it is so.'

This extract may suffice, though we wish we had space to introduce portions of the other speeches, in order to exhibit still more fully the principles of this new society, and the spirit by which its supporters are prompted. They have chosen the path of conciliation, and attempt, not only to convince by argument, but to win by persuasion. Alas, how vainly! If any thing could bespeak honesty of purpose, and kindness of heart, it would be surely to say, as this association in effect says, let us calmly examine the points of difference; let us lay aside every reproachful epithet, and every suspicious feeling, and with the common standard of faith, the Bible, in our hands, let us prayerfully and perseveringly investigate the claims of the voluntary principle; let us endeavor to ascertain whether the union of church and state is compatible with the laws of our common Lord; whether he countenanced or not the principle of religious establishments, and aim to conform at once to his authority, whether our particular predilections are or are not sustained; let us lay aside selfishness, hatred, and all party politics, and take the *mind of Christ* as the polar star of our future course. One would have thought that, persons influenced by these sentiments, avowed publicly and with evident sincerity, would at least have gained respect, and have been exempted from opprobrium. But what was the fact? Instantly after the holding of this assembly, the wide mouth of calumny was opened, and poured forth unwonted scurrility in endless vociferations. The pious Record, and the impious Times, alike cursed. The former was so enamored of its own production, that nothing less would suffice than to issue it in a separate penny publication; and the latter bestowed three long and leading articles upon the egregious sinners who had dared to attempt to persuade their fellow-countrymen and fellow-christians to investigate the whole subject of church establishments on religious grounds. They tried to disparage the men; but that would not do. They tried to denounce the legi-

timacy of the argument, or basis of the reasoning, but here they failed. They bantered, but soon found, or ought to have found, that that did not befit the subject. They endeavoured to *reason*, but fairly proved they had lost their reason or their christian temper. In fact, they writhed under the torture of witnessing the popular display of a cause which is every day growing in strength, as its opponents are declining in numbers and in power.

Is it then come to this, that discussion, however honorable and however dispassionate, is not to be tolerated, if it involves the interests of a dominant establishment, or the endowments of a secular priesthood? Are men to look at truth only through the medium of their passions and their possessions, and to determine its claims by the law of patronage, and not the law of Christ? Is it come to this, that the best men are to be vilified, and the purest motives denounced at the very whisper of a wish to ascertain the will of heaven, and to settle the discords of the church at the foot of the cross? Are those who differ in opinion to be for ever divided in affection; or are differences never to be determined by the divine philosophy of reason, and the diviner inspiration of Scripture?—we weep over fallen humanity and a degraded church! A man can now be neither patriot nor christian, but at the cost of martyrdom!

The general plan of the Evangelical Voluntary Church Association, is 'to advocate and extend, by means of public lectures, 'through the press, and in every other practicable way, the principle of voluntary churches.' It is, in fact, at once a plan of enlightenment and of conciliation. The lectures are to be gratuitous; the society defraying the entire expense of employing well qualified lecturers to pervade the country, or, at least, to occupy some of its most important places. It is undoubted that, such advocacy is much needed; for not only do the prejudiced of every class need to be instructed and won to inquiry, but multitudes of professed voluntaries themselves require to be better informed with regard to the history and the true intent of their own avowed principles. With the plan of lecturing, it is intended soon to unite that of public meetings. This is wise, inasmuch as the platform is become, in our days, a very effective instrument of awakening the popular mind to the importance of subjects of the most surpassing interest; and, moreover, it is a legitimate and necessary method of obtaining support to the society. This proceeding will, naturally, soon connect itself with the formation of local auxiliaries which will bring corresponding members into useful combination, and exhibit a delightful phalanx for the worthy *Times* to contemplate. The committee are, we understand, perfectly 'up and doing.' Besides these efforts, from which important results may be anticipated, they have engaged one

whole side of the Hertford paper, called 'the Reformer,' already a spirited journal, which, under their own superintendence and with their own title, continually pours forth intelligent communications on the voluntary system. We refer to it as, in consequence, become worthy of additional patronage.

The first of the society's series of publications is now before us in the cheap form which adapts itself to the taste of the age. It is Mr. Burnet's lecture at Hertford: and is distinguished by all his characteristic qualities. We need only say it is worthy of his reputation, and we hope it will be very extensively circulated.

The general design is to explain and illustrate two definitions; the one of what *Christianity* is; namely, 'a great moral system, 'revealed from heaven, and capable of universal application; diffusing its principles by the force of their own evidence, and 'maintaining them by their moral power over the minds and conduct of those who feel its influence;' the other, of what a *church establishment of religion* is, namely, 'a national institution, 'dictated by the votes of the majority of the community, diffusing 'its principles by legal sanction, and maintaining them by the 'force of law.' We can only afford space for a single extract, the character of which will, doubtless, induce our readers to wish to peruse the whole.

'Suppose, then, we come to the New Testament, we find there that the maintenance of the cause of Christ is connected exclusively with the principle I have just laid down—the operation of truth on the mind. And the apostle reasons on this principle with the Corinthians throughout the ninth chapter of his second epistle to the church at Corinth. He merely reasons the case with them. Does he insist on any thing as a *right*, which he was entitled to demand? No; he had a right to support, it is true, and he says so; but rather than press that right, even by moral suasion, he would work with his own hands, and thus avoid the necessity for such a demand. And if he did so, do you think he would ever have turned to the state, had it then been Christian, and asked its sword to aid him in enforcing a demand which he would rather have worked with his own hands than even urge? Would he have asked the constable's aid to secure it? The whole tenor of the Christianity of the New Testament is against this idea. And to do our friends on the opposite side justice, they never come to the New Testament for support. If, then, they do not come to the New Testament for the support of their system—and if, as we have seen, the Old has nothing to do with their system—must not our friends allow that Christianity ought to be left to its own principles, not to the power of the state, but to its own power? and, if so left, can it not be extended through all the kingdoms of the world, by the influence and example of its professors? Let it be carried into the distant portions of the earth, in its pure and unadulterated form; not to touch upon the

politics of any kingdom. Let it thus go to Turkey ; let it thus go to China ; let it thus go to Japan ; to any state, the most barbarous on the face of the earth ; let its messengers be able to say, ' Here is a system that connects itself with no politics under heaven, that touches no state affairs, that is designed to influence solely the minds and hearts of men ; and then the emperor of China, and the emperor of Turkey, and the emperor of Japan, can permit their subjects, without the least apprehension, to believe this system—finding that it touches no cabinet, that it interferes with no state movements, and that there is no connexion between the Church and State. We cannot tell them so now. We cannot address them thus on the principles of a State Establishment. What are we obliged to tell them if we tell them the truth ? ' This book is part and parcel of the laws of England ; the mode of supporting the ministers of religion is described in these laws ; the government have the burden of raising the money with which these ministers are sustained. The churches are supported by the government.' ' What ! ' says the sovereign, ' have the government all this to do for their subjects ? If I admit this book, then, into my dominions, I shall have to build churches and pay pastors, and do all this with state money. Why, you are coming to change my government without my consent. I imagined that you were coming to teach my people virtuous principles, and take them to heaven when they die ; but you are going to change our constitution, and subvert the laws of our empire, while we are alive.' Could we refuse to allow that he reasoned soundly ? ' Away, then, with Christianity ; tell me what you may of that, or any other system, by which men are to be pure and happy on earth, and by which they are to rise to heaven when they die ; but do not bring a system to me which will alter my government, which will raise up a band of emissaries whom I must pay. Do you expect the tithes of the Celestial Empire ? ' Would he not be reasoning soundly ? I do not know really how it could be met. ' Why, you tell me, he would say, that these ministers have a tenth of the country to support them. Do you suppose that I should allow such emissaries to settle in China ? ' What reply can we make ? But let us be able to say, ' This book is maintained by the congregations converted by its instrumentality—this book is maintained by the spirit of the Christianity it diffuses ; it quarters no emissaries upon the country ; it has nothing to do with politics ; it seeks no state support for its ministers.' Then, and not till then, shall we recover from the effects of a system which has so long proved injurious to the diffusion of Christianity through the world.'

Scarcely had the ink dried upon the last page of our manuscript, when we received an intimation, that the Christian Influence Society had engaged the Rev. Hugh M'Neile, of Liverpool, to deliver a course of six lectures at the Hanover Square Rooms, ' On the Scriptural Character of the English National Church Establishment, and the Duty of the Legislature so to extend it as ' to maintain its national dimensions, together with some of the

'circumstances which impede its practical efficiency, and the best 'remedies for such defects.' This course of lectures is avowedly in continuation of the lucubrations of Dr. Chalmers in the summer of 1838, under the auspices of the same association; and, doubtless, they will all have been delivered before the issuing of this article from the press. We cannot help, however, expressing at once our unfeigned satisfaction on the occasion of this announcement. It places the matter in debate, between churchmen and dissenters, just where it should be placed; and we await the result of these lectures, and of the present movements, both in and out of the Establishment, with much joyous anticipation.

When the first rumor of the probability of these lectures being delivered, reached our ears, we are free to confess that we were full of questionings and doubts. We entertained no small apprehension that we should be compelled again to fag along the dry and dusty road which ecclesiastical polemics had so often trodden, and on which they had dragged us after them, in spite of our outcries to be conducted along a better path. We were in truth, afraid, that we should be forced to go through the everlasting iteration of common places on expediency, tradition, councils, and creeds; whereas now, it appears,—and we are refreshed at the thought—our controversialist (or lecturer) will appeal to *Scripture*. That is exactly what we want, and have never yet been able to gain from our opponents. Again and again we have said, *Scripture, Scripture*—let us come to the word and testimony. Let *that* speak, and we will hear; we will obey. It is for truth we inquire, not system; it is for christianity we plead, not party.

One word more. We trust we are not misled in our hopes, and that we shall not find we have misunderstood the purpose and plan of the lecturer. We hope he will not, like his predecessor, smother us with words; but keep to the point. We hope he will reason, and not abuse; give evidence fairly, and not pronounce judgment prematurely; but let the world determine for themselves upon the real merits of the controversy. We promise we will do our best to understand all his statements; we will give his volume—(for printing, we presume, will follow lecturing) a cool, careful, and, as far as may be, impartial examination.

Art. II. *A Lexicon of the Greek Language, for the Use of Colleges and Schools; containing, I. A Greek-English Lexicon, combining the Advantages of an Alphabetical and Derivative Arrangement; II. An English-Greek Lexicon, more copious than any that has yet appeared. To which is added, A Concise Grammar of the Greek Language.* By the Rev. J. A. GILES, LL.D. 8vo. London: Longman and Co.

TO compile an elementary vocabulary and grammar of a *modern* language with which a man is well acquainted, is no very arduous task; although it is much harder than those suppose who have never tried. But when something more perfect is aimed at;—to convey to another a full and systematic account of an entire language;—even with all the assistance derived from previous laborers in the same field, this is indeed a work of no common intellect, and needing various qualifications. If it be an *ancient* language with which we are dealing, the difficulties are vastly multiplied; especially because we are then expected to embrace the changes which it underwent in a series of ages. Beside the various dialects under the term Greek (to confine our attention to this tongue), we have to consider the altered phases which the common Greek exhibits in writers of different times and places.

No small difficulty depends on the immense number of facts to be recorded; for unless an orderly distribution of them be effected, the learner will constantly be at a loss. He may, as it were, starve in the midst of plenty. But such distribution is by no means easy of attainment: and as we apprehend that there is much confusion of thought abroad on this subject, we shall a little expand our views concerning it.

Nothing is more obvious than the primary distinction between a grammar and a dictionary. The former lays down all *general principles* discovered in a language: the pervading analogies which determine its structure and its idiom: the latter furnishes us with *details*; with the stuff or material itself of which the language is composed. It is true that neither of the two accurately preserves its own limits. Numerous details, as of irregular nouns and verbs, are ordinarily registered in a grammar: some grammatical doctrines are occasionally expounded in a dictionary. The latter circumstance is more rare, and the former is limited by convenience; so that on the whole this broad division is sufficiently intelligible and pretty well preserved.

But when so great a mass of matter presses on us as is con-

tained in a knowledge of the Greek tongue, many subdivisions are needed. This has been long recognized in grammars, which always contain different heads, nearly such as the following:—if we may venture to introduce a few new terms. (1) *Characterology*: which gives account of alphabets and the sounds of letters, with all such historical information as belongs to the subject. (2) *Pronunciation*: which should include the laws of euphony, and of accent, if they can be treated together. (3) *Rhythm*: or the laws of poetical combinations of sound. (4) *Lexipathy*: or 'Accidence,' which teaches the inflexions of words, and all modifications of their form which result from general principles. (5) *Lexigony*: which lays down the laws of derivation, or the connection of word with word; as far as general principles are discoverable. (6) *Syntax*: a vague term, but by use settled in meaning. It must include, of course, *all* the laws which guide the union of words in a sentence. Under each of these six heads, distinct remarks are needed on the different dialects, and on the changes of each in progress of time. Such remarks are generally, with much convenience, printed in a smaller type, and reserved for study after the rest has been well digested.

We think it is not equally recognized, that dictionaries need subdivisions as much as grammars, or, to speak more accurately *several* dictionaries are needed, different in kind from one another. From not attending to this, it seems to us, none of them can attain the perfection aimed at. They grasp at too much; and either become unwieldly in bulk (as the *Thesaurus* of Stephanus), or, in studying condensation, have no philosophical principle of rejection. There ought to be a serious difference even in so straightforward a work as a French-English dictionary; according as it is intended, on the one hand, to enable an Englishman to *understand* French, or on the other, to help a Frenchman to *talk* or *write* English. When the idiom, however, of two languages is so nearly alike as in this case, both objects may be embraced in one book without becoming very voluminous. But if there be a wide opposition of idiom and diversity of culture, it is requisite for the compiler of the work clearly to hold up *one* or *other* end to himself, and adhere to this systematically.

We now study Greek, not solely to be able to read ancient authors passably well, but to understand the relationship of all the words in the language to one another; and moreover, to understand the connexion of Greek with Latin, with German, with English, perhaps with Persian and Sanscrit. A dictionary intended to exhibit the phenomena which fall under this last head, would be a Comparative Lexicon of a certain family of languages; and although Greek might be the standard of comparison for the rest, this would not make it exclusively a *Greek* dictionary.

Valuable as such a work would be,* if well executed, it is hardly that of which we are now talking; and we may here dismiss this subject.

But to explain the relation of Greek words with *one another* (so far as the subject is one of *detail*, and not embraced in grammar), legitimately belongs to a Greek dictionary. All the families of words ought to be seen registered in juxtaposition. To effect this, the arrangement according to roots is convenient, at least in Greek and Hebrew; indeed, in every language we believe that some other arrangement than the alphabetical should be adopted, depending on the genius of the language itself. The English explanations should be as concise as possible; just enough to identify the word. Those who have hitherto compiled Greek lexicons in this order, appear to us to have erred, in wishing to embrace the objects of an alphabetical lexicon besides. We think that each work has its own sphere: they ought to encroach as little as possible on each other, and every student should possess both.

The common alphabetical dictionary should be devoted to *lexigraphy*;† or to the description of words, with their various meanings arranged in philosophical order; adding all such details concerning their inflections and syntactical peculiarities, as do not fall under grammatical rules. It should be ordinarily confined to a particular dialect; and all words of other dialects which cannot be omitted should be marked as foreign, old, poetical: and words or senses of later origin should be carefully referred to their own time. This is a vast business, even when it has been stripped as much as possible of all that can be thrown under the other heads.

Glossography, however, we think, ought certainly to be made a separate branch; without which, the subordinate dialects never receive adequate attention. To those who can afford to purchase many books, probably nothing will supersede lexicons written for particular authors; of which Schweighæuser's lexicons for Herodotus and Polybius are admirable specimens. Indeed, in every art and science, it appears to be conceded that nothing is so instructive as a *monograph*. But while these cannot be fairly compared with general dictionaries, we have no doubt of the expediency of a separate glossary for all the peculiar words of the Ionic

* Meidinger has published (in German and in French) a Comparative Dictionary of the *Teutogothic* languages. It requires great erudition to speak confidently on such a work; but while we acknowledge its vast research, it strikes us as deficient in severity of judgment.

† The words *Lexicography*, *Lexicographer*, are contrary to analogy; and should be *Lexigraphy*, *Lexigrapher*.

and Doric dialects, so as to leave the ordinary dictionary as a repository for the common Greek alone.

To recapitulate, the scholar needs, if possible, (1) A Comparative Dictionary embracing a Family of Languages: say, Greek, Latin, German, and English: (2) A Greek Dictionary arranged by roots, as a family-register of the genealogy of all Greek words. (3) An Alphabetical Dictionary. (4) A Dictionary for the cognate dialects. To these must be added, (5) an Inverse Lexicon; to assist an Englishman in writing Greek. We entitle these five subjects, (1) Comparative Lexignosy, (2) Lexignosy, (3) Lexigraphy, (4) Glossography, (5) Metaphrastics. Having ventured to impose so many hard words on our readers we will add a criticism on the term Philology, which is now naturalized among us. Its inventors probably intended by it, 'the love of language;' but this should have been 'Philolexy:' for 'Philology'* must mean the love of discussion. Considering also how the termination *logy* is used in the words Astrology, Mythology, Pathology, &c., it is obvious that the science of language ought to have been called *Lexilogy*, of which Lexigraphy and Lexignosy are parts, just as Geography and Geognosy are subordinate to Geology. Perhaps it is not even yet too late to introduce the expressive term Lexilogy, which is so readily understood by any intelligent Englishman.

Lexigraphers generally endeavor to embrace in a single work two or three of the above heads. Even when they confine themselves to their own most peculiar business, they have a vast undertaking, especially in the Greek language, the irregularities of which below the surface, are far greater than upon the surface. Its irregular nouns, though rather numerous, are generally given in good grammars: moreover a copious list of irregular verbs is uniformly found. But the verbs, called Regular, are but seldom wholly so; although many students do not find this out until they endeavor to compose in Greek. We do not mean to inflict on our readers a lecture on Greek Grammar; but a few words are needed to explain this. In English we have two primary methods of forming the past tense; first, by change of vowel; secondly, by adding *ed*, *d*, or *t*. As examples of the first or older method, we have speak, spoke; break, broke; give, gave; come, came; drink, drank; run, ran; &c. The second admits of subdivisions, only that we do not now care for niceties. In it we find, rout, routed; sound, sounded; save, sav'd; gain, gain'd; read, read [better, *redd*]; sleep, slept; leap, leapt [better, *lept*]; leave, left; eat, ate [better, *ett*]; search, searcht; burn, burnt; press,

* Scapula gives the following meanings of φιλολόγος—(1) fond of discussing, (2) talkative, (3) fond of hearing discussions, (4) literary, learned.

prest. Now, what would be thought of an English grammarian who should lay down, that 'English verbs have two past tenses,' and should exhibit them thus :

See, saw, or seed
Come, came, or com'd
Give, gave, or giv'd
&c., &c.

Live, lave, or liv'd
Leave, laf, or left
Search, sorch, or searcht
&c., &c.

A foreigner would never guess that seed and com'd were not quite as good English as saw and came; and if, late in his studies, he were told that lave, laf, and sorch were all words invented 'for illustration,' he would think he had been most unfairly imposed on. Yet this is not a caricature of the mode of instruction pursued in all, at least except the most recent, Greek grammars. The Greeks, as the English, have two *modes* of forming the past tense; and this the grammarians perversely call, having *two past tenses*. The one mode, called second Aorist, is formed by change (generally shortening) of vowel; as in ληθ, ελαθ; τεμ, εταμ; λειπ, ελιπ. The other mode, called First Aorist, is to add σ; as τυπ, ετυψ; λυ, ελυσ; τι, ετισ. Now doubtless sometimes in Greek, as in English, *both* past tenses exist in one verb, especially if we embrace several centuries of time in our thought; just as we have lit and lighted, hung and hanged, brought and bringed, shone and shined: and if we rake up our old ballads, which are most analogous to the Homeric poems, we can find authority for an extraordinary mass of strange words, such as com'd, seed, lough, mough, kep (for *laughed, might, kept*). But a foreigner learning English, would *first* desire to know the common language of literature, and to master this thoroughly, before he incurred the danger of vitiating his perceptions by such vulgarisms: and it is no more true in Greek than in English, that we may indifferently employ *either* mode of forming the past tense. The like remarks apply to the two modes of forming the Greek *Future*, in verbs called regular. For all these reasons, it is highly necessary that a Greek Lexicon should inform the student concerning each verb separately, what is the past and future tense really in use; or, which method prevailed in different times and dialects.

Another source of confusion hardly paralleled in English, exists in the *Middle Voice* of the Greek verb. We have a few such idioms as, To be mistaken, for, To mistake; where the passive is used for the active. So the Greek middle voice, besides its legitimate senses, which are numerous enough, is in particular instances,—perhaps only in certain tenses,—used for the active, or for the passive; or sometimes again, it borrows passive tenses to make up its own complement. The irregularities meet one most unexpectedly, even in different compounds of the same verb; as προτρέπεσθαι and ἀποτρέπειν, ἐπιθυμῆν and ἐνθυμῆσθαι, ἐννοεῖν

and *διανοεῖσθαι*. *Βουλεύεσθαι* and *συμβουλεύεσθαι* are generally Middle; but *ἐπιβουλεύομαι* is Passive, almost never Middle. In all these matters we look to the Lexicon for help.

Again, since three cases of nouns may follow verbs, and it is often uncertain which of the three, the Lexicon ought here likewise to inform us. A student who knows that verbs of superiority generally govern a genitive, but sometimes a dative (which is more Ionic and Latinized), and sometimes an accusative; may wish to know whether to write *κρατεῖν γῆς*, or *κρατεῖν γῆν*, *ἀνάσσειν Τρώων* or *ἀνάσσειν Τρῶσιν*: and whether any difference of sense is involved.

It is further requisite, that the Lexicon distinguish poetical terms from common ones. To write *ἀνάσσειν* for *βασιλεύειν*, *πρόπας* for *ἄπας*, *θάσσω* for *καθέζομαι*, and so forth, would produce as ridiculous an effect on a low topic, as in English to say *sway* for *govern*, *steed* for *horse*, *rampire* for *battlement*, &c. We would almost rather not understand poetry at all, than confound its vocabulary with that of prose. But here, a peculiarly difficult task is imposed on the Lexigrapher. Numerous words occur but rarely in Attic prose (such prose at least as we most commonly read), and are tolerably common in poetry: whence the more and the less learned are alike apt to infer too hastily that they are poetical words. For example, *λαῖλαψ*, *θύελλα*, *καταιγίς*, are easily mistaken for synonyms of *A Storm*, too high-sounding for prose; whereas, in fact, they are *specific* terms, like *hurricane*, *squall*, *tornado*. In these points, natives have an advantage over foreigners, difficult to appreciate in amount.

We may lastly remark, that it is yet more important in Greek than in English, to arrange the different senses of a term in their philosophical order. For our language, having received its cultivation on a foreign basis, has in very numerous instances adopted a foreign term in place of the metaphorical use of the Saxon word. Thus, in a physical sense, we say, *to wrest*; in a moral, *to extort*: in a physical, *to squeeze out*; in a moral, *to express*, *to imitate*: in a physical sense again, *to meet* or *come together*; in a moral, *to agree* or *make a compact*. In these, and hundreds besides, the Greeks would have but one word, where the English have two; which ought to be exhibited systematically in the arrangement of meanings.

When the vast extent of the language is considered, and the amount of reading needed to produce such a Lexicon as the age demands, it appears evident that the attempt is too arduous for an individual. If one or more persons really qualified for the work are to give up adequate time to it, they must expect to be remunerated for their labor. But the publishers cannot command the market; and to avoid actual loss, a favorable crisis must be seized, when no existing Lexicon has pre-occupied the public. Time

cannot be granted *ad libitum*: the author must finish it somehow, within the period prescribed; and be the book ever so valuable, there is a limit of price which it must on no account exceed. For all these reasons, we never expect a really good Lexicon, until the work is taken in hand by one of our universities. If Oxford were what she fancies herself, this would not long be wanting: but now she does nothing for us in her organized and collective capacity, except that which the Priestleys or the Talboyses with her means, would perform just as well, viz., execute judicious reprints of the German classics. The University ought to appoint a committee for compiling a Greek Lexicon; she could distribute it into a sufficient number of able hands to ensure its rapid completion, appointing a single editor, to attain uniformity: she could afford to remunerate them, and to print the work at a not extravagant price; while if composed under such auspices, it would find immediate entrance into every great library in the kingdom. It is wonderful that with all her pretensions, she has so little ambition; but tamely goes on reprinting from the Germans, whose universities she so meanly esteems.

When we form so high an idea of the arduousness of Dr. Giles's undertaking, and of the disadvantages to which he, as any other individual, is probably exposed; it is not to be expected that we should find his execution correspond to our desires. To judge thoroughly of a Lexicon, is a work of time; even if the judgment is to be one of comparison, and we are to ascertain only whether he has much improved upon other popular works of the same kind. The measure of examination which we have been able to give, leads us to believe that in the total amount of information conveyed, this dictionary will bear a comparison with any other of equal magnitude; but to estimate the author's improvements is the more difficult, since his preface does not explain to what he has specially directed his attention.

We do not, therefore, undervalue his work, nor mean to censure him for haste, when we add, that judging by an absolute standard, it seems to us very defective. As it is only by specimens that we can make an estimate, so there is no other way of setting forth the grounds of our opinion; and as no small portion of our readers are students of this noble language, we hope that those who are not, will not grudge us a couple of pages employed in verbal discussion uninteresting to *them*. We purposely looked to various words, which have some nicety of meaning not always well understood; others caught our attention in turning his pages; and thus the following miscellaneous list was produced in the course of, perhaps, twenty minutes. (We do not mean that this is the *only* portion of time which we have allotted to the book.) Our own remarks are in brackets: the rest is from Dr. Giles.

Αἰρέω (αἶρω) to take : Ἀγρέω, to catch in the chase.

[We apprehend that Αἰρέω is not at all derived from αἰείρω or αἶρω, to lift up ; but is, as Buttman states, an Attic form of ἀγρέω, the γ being guttural with the Greeks. Nor is ἀγρέω to catch *in the chase*, necessarily ; but simply, to catch, to take ; as is proved by πυράγρη, *tongs*, and αὐτάγρετος, Ionic for αὐθαίρετος, *chosen freely*. It ought to be noticed in the Lexicon that ἀγρέω is Ionic.]

Ἀέγω,* to speak, say, tell, collect, gather, count, reckon, deliver, lay down, put to rest, quiet, soothe.—[Rather : Ἀέγω, (1) to gather, (2) to count, (3) to recount in order, tell, (4) to speak or harangue, (5) to say or mean : chiefly in the present tense ; ἐρῶ, *fut.* and εἶπα or εἶπον, *aorist*. There are several tenses formed from another root, with the sense of *lying down* : viz., perhaps in Attic, the 2nd aor. pass. as κατελέγησαν, *they lay* : certainly in Ionic, λέξον, *cause to lie*, mid. λέξεται, ἐλέξατο, ἐλεκτο. This root is connected with λέχος.]

Πρόξενος, a person appointed to perform hospitality towards ambassadors.—[Rather : a person who, in his own state, officiated as patron, or in modern language, as *consul*, for those of some other state : not for ambassadors solely.]

Ὀπτω, for ὀπτομαι, to see.—[We believe that neither word has any existence. The Greeks said, ὀρῶ, I see, *fut.* ὀψομαι, *aor.* εἶδον *perf.* ἑώρακα, Poet. ὀπωπα—which cannot be found from Dr. Giles's grammar, any more than from his Lexicon.]

Σκέπτομαι, to behold. Σκοπέω, ἴσω, to look out. [Σκέπτεο is found in Homer, but we believe the present is not used in Attic Greek : σκοπήσω is equally unknown so us. The Attics say, σκοπῶ or σκοποῦμαι, *fut.* σκέψομαι.]

Θύω, to burn incense, sacrifice, make an oblation, rush impetuously, flow in torrents, be in a state of fury. Ἀποθύω, to perform sacrifices in honor of ; dedicate to.—[Rather : Θύω, (1) fumigate or burn incense, (2) fume or rage, (3) sacrifice a victim. Θυῖμαι, sacrifice in order to consult the entrails ; properly, as when a general *orders* a diviner *to sacrifice* (This middle sense is omitted). Ἀποθύω, to sacrifice, by way of *payment*, a vow due to a god.]

Εὐνοῦχος, from εὐνή, οὐ, ἔχω.—[A truly extraordinary mistake, and, we think, original to Dr. Giles. Οὐ, *not*, does not enter into the word, any more than into κληροῦχος. It properly means, a Chamberlain.]

Διάνοια, thought, understanding, soul, the mind, reason, consideration, resolution, thought.—[Rather, Διάνοια, (1) an intention, (2) meaning of words, (3) the intellect, as νοῦς, opposed to the moral sentiment.]

Ἀεῖλλα, a tempest, hurricane, whirlwind. Θύελλα, a storm, hurricane. Καταιγίς, a sudden blast. Λαῖλαψ, a great storm, hurricane.

* We were directed to this word by Dr. Giles's remark in the preface : 'The compiler has thought it sufficient to give only the *primary and principal* meanings of Greek verbs, and considers it worse than useless, when he has once explained such words as καί, λέγω, &c. . . . to extend the subject . . . ' We were surprised after this to find so many meanings to λέγω.

'Αναφύσημα, a blast.—[Thus we do not learn any distinctions. "Αελλα, we believe, is foreign to the Attics. Aristotle (de Mundo) says, that Θέελλα is a squall; Καταιγίς, a descending squall; Ααιλαψ, an ascending whirlwind; 'Αναφύσημα, a puff of wind ascending from a hole in the earth.]

"Ορθίος, erect, &c.—[He does not explain ὀρθίος λόχος, a regiment in file, or with narrow front.]

'Επιτειχίζω, to wall, fortify.—[Properly, to erect a fort for offensive purposes; as, against another fortified place.]

Αἰσυμνάω, to assign, administer, rule, govern.—[Rather, to govern, as elective king. No learner will guess this sense to belong to the whole family; though, under Αἰσυμνητής, Dr. Giles gives, as *one* sense, 'a magistrate chosen by election.']

Σοφία, wisdom, skill, cleverness, art, prudence, knowledge, virtue.—[The three last senses, we presume, are only a fruit of Socrates's theory, that all virtue is knowledge, and all vice ignorance. But, if we may believe Aristotle, Σοφία means, (1) cleverness in the arts, (2) knowledge in the exact sciences, (3) power of abstract speculation, also erudition, concerning things superhuman and unpractical. On the contrary, σοφία cannot be used for practical wisdom.]

But we find that we must not proceed, although only about half of our list is finished.* The above will suffice to show that we cannot regard this Lexicon as having made great approaches to our beau idéal. The most serious defects running through the whole book, are—the want of distinction, order, and gradation, in the different senses assigned to words, which are often far too numerous; and, the total neglect to mark the dialect to which words belong; or, generally, the aorists and regimen of particular verbs. Such neglect, no thoughtfulness and examination on the part of him who consults the Lexicon, can remedy; the book itself provides him with no materials.

But it would be unjust to finish our remarks thus, since we have not yet noticed a part of the work on which Dr. Giles has, doubtless, spent much labor, probably more than on all the rest; viz. the English-Greek Lexicon. The importance of composing in any tongue which we desire to learn, is now generally recognised; and hence the value of Inverse Lexicons, even for the dead languages. We have observed, also, that in the Greek Lexicons which have been published successively in the last fifteen years, this department has been more and more carefully cultivated. To exhibit

* As a specimen concerning the *tenses* of verbs, we looked out ἀκούω to hear. We had noted, that in his grammar, he first gives ἀκούω future, ἀκούω (active), and ἀκούσομαι (middle); and afterwards states that ἀκούω has only a future middle. We do not know whether a learner will understand that ἀκούσω is a fictitious word, which is the fact. In the Lexicon, he gives ἀκούω, ἀκούσομαι, ἤκουκα. Is not ἤκουκα another fictitious word? We do not remember any other perfect than ἀκήκοα, which is not down at all.

the fulness of Dr. Giles's information, we select, at random, a single paragraph :

‘ Astonish, ἐκπλήττω, φοβέω, ἐκφοβέω, καταφοβέω, ἀτύζω, καταπλήττω, καταθορυβέω, ἐκφοβέω.* Astonished : ἐμβρόντητος, c. ἀπόπληκτος, c. ἐκστατικός, ἄψυχος, c. ἄπνοος, c. ἐκπληγής. To be astonished : δεδίττομαι, ἐμβρόντημαι, ἐκπλήσσομαι, θαμβέω, ταραττομαι, ἀναισθητέω. Astonishment, κατάπληξις, f. ἐμπληξία f. ἐκπληξις, f. θάμβος, m. λειποθυμία, f.’

More could not be wished than this, as regards the number of words ; and we could dispense with information concerning dialects in this part, if it were given in the Greek-English Lexicon. At present, if a student doubts whether ἀτύζω and θάμβος (or any other of these terms), are Attic, he cannot gain a reply from this work ; it therefore does not furnish him with the materials for composing in Greek. It is indeed evident, that an Inverse Lexicon is always merely *suggestive*. The student who is of opinion that a certain word which it offers to him will suit his purpose, must turn to the other Part in order to ascertain more minutely its meaning. Thus for composition in Greek, each Part is equally needed ; and, assuredly, few occupations of the mind exercise discrimination more, and cultivate the logical faculty more usefully, than the being thus forced to consider the shades of meaning by which words of languages so diverse are distinguished.

Dr. Giles has distributed the words into paragraphs, according to their families. While this makes a student a little slower in finding what he wants, the plan has some advantages. It would be a great improvement in the Greek-English part, to print the most elementary words of each family with some distinction of type which might catch the eye.

A Greek grammar also is prefixed to the Lexicon, but we do not feel called on to criticise it in detail. The author says, that ‘ it may be found useful to those who do not wish to multiply ‘ books ;’ but herein we think he miscalculates. No one who learns Greek, in our belief, will practically find this grammar tend to diminish the number of books which he needs. It appears to us too ample and too unexplanatory for a beginner, and inadequate to the wants of an advanced student. But even if it were a perfect grammar, it would be more convenient to have it separate from the Lexicon, than bound together with it. When a language has peculiarities, such that a Lexicon cannot be well understood without some grammatical preliminaries, then these must be prefixed ; but we think the extent of such an introduction should be limited by the needs of the Lexicon itself.

* This word is accidentally repeated ; as is the word ‘ thought,’ under διάνοια, quoted above.

Art. III. *Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries.* By HENRY HALLAM, F.R.A.S., &c. Vols. II., III., IV. London. 1839.

IT is now more than two years and a half since we reviewed* the first volume of this extraordinary work. In that review we passed a high, but no more than merited eulogium on the author. After pointing out the gigantic magnitude of the undertaking, and the very various qualifications it demanded;—immense knowledge both of languages and of books; erudition, at once solid and multifarious; a capacity for appreciating whatever is good or beautiful in every department of literature, without any disproportionate partialities for any; talents alike for philosophical reflection and just criticism—the one to speculate on the causes which have advanced or impeded the progress and development of literature—the other to ensure a sound judgment on the authors who come under review; and last, though not least, exquisite powers of selection and arrangement,—skill in the most approved methods of *packing*,—in order that the multifarious matters of which such a work must consist might be exhibited in a moderate compass, yet in just symmetry and without mutilation;—we stated our sincere conviction, that Mr. Hallam united these various qualifications in as great a degree as could be expected in any man, and in a far greater measure than any one of his contemporaries. We remarked—‘Of many of these qualifications his former works sufficiently show that he was possessed. They evince his indefatigable research, his extensive erudition, his sound judgment, his impartiality and candor, in every page. But it will astonish some readers to find, that while Mr. Hallam was pursuing those studies which were necessary for exhibiting the political, social, and civil state of Europe during the middle ages, or for tracing the constitutional history of our own country, he was paying attention at the same time to polite literature, and that in his present volume he shows himself almost as much at home in poetry and the *Belles Lettres*, in discussing the merits of different schools of taste, in examining the works of great poets, in canvassing matters of diction and of metre, as (in his other works) the principles of politics and legislation, or the progress of wars and negotiations. He is apparently as much at his ease in discussing the constituents of the chivalrous and romantic spirit of the middle ages, as he would be in tracing the history of the Reformation,

* See Eclectic Review. New Series. Vol. II. 1837, pp. 298—315.

‘or in criticising the merits of Boiardo and Ariosto, as the characters of Henry VIII. and Cromwell.’

After inspecting the remaining volumes of Mr. Hallam's work, we do not feel disposed to withdraw one particle of the praise we bestowed on the first. In some respects, indeed our admiration is increased by the manner in which he has completed his task. While the rapid accumulation of materials, as he descended the stream of ages, rendered his work incomparably more difficult, he has shown himself fully equal to its exigencies. It may at first sight be thought, that, as he navigated his vessel out of the narrow straits and tortuous creeks of early European literature, and launched forth on the bosom of wider waters, his course would be more easy, and his perplexities rapidly diminish. In some respects this conjecture would undoubtedly be well founded; but the advantages derived from this exchange are, we apprehend, rather apparent than real; and are more than counterbalanced by other considerations. If, as he proceeded, research became less difficult, it was necessary that it should be far more extensive; if materials were more accessible, they were also prodigiously increased in quantity; if investigations became less tedious, they must needs be also more enlarged and profound; if the authors were less obscure, and their writings less dry and uncouth, the importance and variety of their works demanded a more deliberate and subtle examination. To criticise them in a philosophical manner, and yet to compress all that was to be said within a few pages, required no ordinary skill. In a word (and to recur to the metaphor with which we set out above), if the navigation in these latter volumes has become less difficult and tedious, that advantage is more than outweighed by the extent of the voyage and the novel dangers of the deep.

As we think the last three volumes fully entitled to the commendation we bestowed upon the first, we shall say no more on the general merits of this truly great work, or on those of its author. Referring our readers for a more full expression of our opinions and feelings to the review already mentioned, we shall content ourselves with giving a brief abstract of the voluminous contents of the second, third, and fourth volumes, and then justify our praise by a few extracts.

In general, it may be said, that the perusal of these volumes will prove far more interesting to the bulk of readers than the first possibly could. How indeed can it be otherwise? In these volumes, we come to those periods in the history of European literature, which may justly be called its *epochs*, and which are at the same time epochs in the history of the mind of the species. In gorgeous and imposing procession, all those mighty minds pass before us, which have been the great instruments of instruction and delight—the objects of universal veneration and

wonder to all succeeding ages; the great luminaries of science and philosophy, of poetry and eloquence, of learning and criticism—Bacon, Galileo, Des Cartes, Locke, Grotius, Jeremy Taylor, Barrow, Shakspeare, Milton, Tasso; and a host of others, who, if secondary, are secondary only as compared with these. By the way, we may here just remark, that we have been particularly struck with the nice sense of *proportion*—of the relative importance of the authors whose merits are discussed—of the space they occupy in the public eye, and the influence they have exerted on literature,—which Mr. Hallam has evinced, and according to which he has determined the extent of disquisition and criticism, he has allotted to each. By this we do not mean, of course, that there has been as much said upon the character and works of each author as would be demanded, if *he* alone were the subject of criticism; for many of the above-mentioned names would require each a volume to do them justice, and, we may add, have often had it without getting justice even then. But we mean, that the space allotted to them is always admirably proportioned to their importance, viewed in relation to the limits of the work. All the criticisms are reduced to the same scale; it is a scale of proportionate parts. But though the space allotted to each name, however great, is necessarily small, many of the criticisms are expressed with such weighty and pregnant brevity—with such condensation both of thought and expression—with such a cautious abstinence from vain repetitions and superfluous epithets, that they convey far more than many a fluent disquisition of ten times the bulk. Indeed it is one of the most singular and felicitous peculiarities of our author, that he can express himself worthily on a great subject within a very moderate compass; can be concise, yet give us something more than a few vague or obvious generalities. This is an admirable art, and of very rare attainment. Indeed, we were not without some apprehensions, we must confess, that when Mr. Hallam came to the names of Bacon, Locke, Milton, Shakspeare, and others like them, even he would fail. Our satisfaction at his success has been proportionate to our fears of his failure. Many of the critical disquisitions on celebrated writers are not only far more ample than could be reasonably expected, considering the limits of the work in which they appear, but would be considered masterly sketches anywhere. The criticisms on Bacon and Shakspeare, besides many incidental notices of these great men in other parts of the work, extend, the one to sixty-two pages, the other to nearly forty; that of Grotius (*De Jure Belli et Pacis*), occupies sixty pages; Hobbes has thirty-seven pages, and Descartes forty.

We now proceed to give a brief analysis, chapter by chapter (we shall take no notice of *sections*), of the principal contents of

these three deeply interesting volumes ; in fact we shall do with them just as we formerly did of the first.

The *second* volume is divided into eight chapters, and embraces the latter half of the sixteenth century ; that is, from 1550 to 1600.

The first chapter contains the history of 'Ancient Literature' during this period, and relates the progress which was made in the study and elucidation of classical authors. Here the characters and critical labors of many of the greatest scholars, philologists, and antiquaries which Europe has ever produced come under review ; amongst the rest, Muretus, Gruterus, Lipsius, HENRY STEPHENS, Scapula, Sanctius, Buchanan, JOSEPH SCALIGER, Isaac Casaubon, Saville. This chapter of course includes the history (deeply interesting to a large class of readers) of the first editions of the classics, and of the compilation of the earliest grammars and lexicons.

The second chapter contains the 'History of Theological Literature in Europe' during this period, and is occupied with the progress of Protestantism after the diet of Augsburg, 1556 ; the reaction of Catholicism, with the history of the Jesuits, their colleges, and the tremendous and to a great extent successful efforts they made to restore the balance of power ; the rise and progress of the various religious controversies maintained either between the two great parties, or between the sects into which they were divided. This chapter includes an admirable sketch of the great champion of Rome, Bellarmin.

The third chapter contains the 'History of Speculative Philosophy' during this period, and is occupied with an account of the state of the scholastic philosophy, and of those now obscure writers who ushered in the dawn of a brighter day in this department of science. The principal works reviewed here are those of Bruno, the 'Principles' of Nizolius, and the 'Logic' of Ramus.

The fourth chapter relates the history of Moral and Political Philosophy, and of Jurisprudence. The chief works noticed, are the Ecclesiastical Polity of Hooker, so far as his 'Theory of Natural Law' is concerned ; the Essays of Montaigne, of whom a delightful sketch is given ; the Essays of Bacon ; Buchanan's 'De Jure Regni ;' an extensive analysis is also given of the 'Republic' of Bodin. This chapter contains some powerful and philosophical remarks on the 'spirit generated by the oppression of the governments of this period,' and on the discussions respecting politics and law, to which it naturally gave rise.

The fifth chapter contains the history of Poetry, and is rich in literary information and criticism. It comprises a review, amongst many others, of Tasso, of whom there is a very spirited sketch, though if any thing rather too favorable ; of Camoens and his

Lusiad; of Sackville; of Spenser, to whose Faery Queen ten pages are worthily devoted; of Chapman, Marston, Hall, and Donne. These notices are interspersed with many valuable observations on matters connected with diction and metre; on the history of the early translations from the classics; on the Scots and English ballads; and on the state of Latin poetry during this period.

The sixth chapter embraces the history of Dramatic Literature. It opens with an account of the Italian and Spanish drama, and contains criticisms on Tasso, Lope de Vega (of whom a full account is given), and Cervantes. It then passes on to the early English drama; and after a rapid review of inferior writers, closes with a compressed but philosophical and profound critique on the early plays of Shakspeare.

The seventh chapter contains the history of Polite Literature in prose, during the above-mentioned period. Here Tasso again passes under review in treating of the Italian writers, and Montaigne in treating of the French. Amongst the English writers, and those viewed principally with reference to style, are Ascham, Sydney, and Hooker. This chapter contains many valuable remarks on the state of the language and the chief peculiarities which then prevailed in diction and style, together with an account of the rise and progress of poetical criticism and rhetoric amongst us. The merits of the earliest works on both these subjects are ably discussed. In particular, there is a very full account of Scaliger's once celebrated Poetics.

The eighth chapter is taken up with the history of Physical and Miscellaneous Literature. The principal names in natural philosophy, are those of Copernicus and Tycho Brahe. There is also a full account of the state of optics, mechanics, natural history, botany, medicine, and anatomy, and of the precious additions which were made during this period in all these departments. The 'miscellaneous' matter contains discussions on many subjects amongst the most interesting which can be found in any literary history: as for example, the rise and progress of universities and academies, of literary and antiquarian societies, the state of literary correspondence, the earliest bibliographical works, and the condition of the press.

The *third* volume extends from 1600 to 1650, and is divided into seven chapters.

The first is taken up with the history of Ancient Literature. Here Casaubon, Viger, Salmasius, Saville, Grotius, Scioppius, Vossius, Claverius, and a host of other voluminous contributors to classical criticism, philology, and antiquities, are subjected to a rapid and succinct, but perspicuous and discriminating criticism.

The second chapter is on 'Theological Literature' during this period. We need only mention the names of Father Paul

Sarpi, Perron, Daillé, Grotius, Chillingworth, Hales, Usher, Jeremy Taylor, Hall, Donne, and Lord Herbert, in order to show that this must prove to theological readers one of the most interesting in the whole work. Nor is this all; it contains notices as usual of all the most important controversies of the period, as well as remarks on the state of sacred criticism, on the English commentators, on the style of preaching, and on the character of English sermons.

The third chapter is by far the most important and interesting in this volume. After a few remarks on the state of the scholastic philosophy, on 'the methods of the universities,' on Campanella, on Jacob Behmen, Lord Herbert's *De Veritate*, and Gassendi's Defence of Epicurus, our author commences his eminently beautiful and comprehensive critique on the character, genius, and writings of Lord Bacon, to whom not less than sixty pages are devoted. This is followed by a scarcely less elaborate review of Descartes, and this again by another of very considerable merit on the Philosophy of Hobbes.

The fourth chapter contains the history of Moral and Political Philosophy, and of Jurisprudence. Our author commences it by some remarks on casuistry, on the attention which was paid at this period to this species of literature, and on the causes of it. He then proceeds to notice Suarez *De Legibus*, and the English casuists, Perkins and Hall. Then follow notices of Selden *De Jure Naturali juxta Hebræos*; of Hobbes' political writings; and above all, a very long and able critique on Grotius' great work, *De Jure Belli et Pacis*. This chapter contains some brief notices of Bacon's *Essays*, Feltham's *Resolves*, Browne's *Religio Medici*, Selden's *Table Talk*, and several other works of minor importance.

The fifth chapter contains the history of Poetry. After a rapid review of Italian, Spanish, French, German, Dutch, and Danish poetry, which do not present during this period very much of interest, he comes to the English poets, who appeared in great numbers, and furnish some names of great merit. The principal which attract the eye of the reader here, are Phineas and Giles Fletcher, Brooke, Denham, Crashaw, Cowley, Beaumont, Ben Jonson, Wither, Suckling, Lovelace, Herrick; the early poems of Milton, are also noticed. To the last poet on whom a brief though splendid eulogy is pronounced, but whose great work had not yet been published, a more lengthened criticism is devoted in the next volume.

The sixth chapter resumes the history of Dramatic Literature. The names of Calderon and of Corneille are the principal ones in the former part of the chapter; of the character and principal productions of the latter a very full and detailed account is given. Our author then proceeds to the English theatre, and

having criticised those plays of Shakspeare which appeared after the commencement of the century, favors us with a noble though very brief disquisition on his genius. This is followed by a masterly criticism on Ben Johnson, Beaumont and Fletcher, and Massinger, all whose principal productions pass under review. Ford, Shirley, Heywood, and Webster, bring up the rear.

The seventh chapter carries on the history of Polite Literature. It opens with remarks on the decline of taste in Italy, the state of the language, and the style of the principal writers; on the character of Spanish and French prose; on the writings of Balzac, and the state of the French language; and on the French academy. Our author then proceeds to pass some valuable criticisms on the character of English style at this period, and illustrates his observations by reference to the writings of Knowles, Raleigh, Bacon, Milton, Clarendon, Burton, Bishop Earle, Overbury, and Ben Johnson. After this he gives us some delightful and succinct criticism, full of sagacity, on one of the most wonderful books ever published—the *Don Quixote* of Cervantes. The chapter closes with an account of the Spanish novels and romances, and of the few and meagre works of fiction which appeared during this period in England.

The *fourth* volume commences with a further history of the Literature of Europe from 1600 to 1650, in two chapters. The first of these (chapter eighth) contains the history of mathematical and physical science. Considering the great difficulty of presenting any thing like a clear view of the subject, without symbols, and to unscientific readers, it undoubtedly possesses great merit. The principal topics are the invention of logarithms by Napier; the applications of algebra to geometry; the progress made in this latter science; the discoveries and improvements in astronomy, mechanics, dynamics, optics. The men whose labors are recorded, are amongst the greatest that ever devoted themselves to mathematical and physical science. They are Napier, Briggs, Kepler, Galileo, Cavalieri, and Descartes.

Chapter ninth is entitled 'other provinces of Literature,' from 1600 to 1650, and, like the last chapter on the preceding period, is very miscellaneous. The first part contains an account of botany, and several branches of natural history and physiology. Another portion, and a very interesting one, is devoted to the state of Hebrew learning, and of oriental literature generally. The latter part gives an account of universities, libraries, and academies.

The next (and unhappily the last) period of which Mr. Hallam has undertaken to treat, is from 1650 to 1700. We say *unhappily*, as we would have fain seen this great work carried on by the same masterly hand to the close of the last century.

The first chapter contains as usual, the history of Ancient

Literature. It is a short one, but nevertheless records the labors of many of the most eminent names in philology and criticism; as GRONOVIVS (father and son), GRÆVIUS, ISAAC VOSSIUS, Spanheim, the Port Royal Writers, the Daciers, Gataker, STANLEY, Mill, BENTLEY, and Usher.

The second chapter is devoted to Theological Literature, and contains an account of the great controversies on Popery, Arminianism, Socinianism, and Deism, and a view of the English and French pulpit-eloquence during this period. The principal names which attract the reader, are Dupin, Fleury, Bossuet, Taylor, Barrow, Limborch, Le Clerc, Bishop Bull, Hammond, Wilkins, Locke, Fénelon, Pascal, Bourdeloue, Fléchier, South, and Tillotson; to theologian readers, a tolerably attractive bill of fare.

To the lovers of speculative philosophy, the third chapter will prove not less inviting. It contains a review, amongst others, of the systems and opinions maintained by Gale, Cudworth, More, Gassendi, Malebranche, Spinoza, Dalgarno, and LOCKE. We are sorry to miss here the name of Leibnitz.

The fourth chapter is nearly related to the third. The chief works reviewed, are Pascal's Provincial Letters, Taylor's *Ductor Dubitantium*, Cudworth's *Immutable Morality*, Cumberland's 'De Legibus Naturæ' (of which an analysis is given quite proportioned, in our opinion, to its merits); Puffendorf's 'Law of Nature and Nations'; various treatises, more especially that of Locke on 'Education';—Spinoza, Harrington, Sydney, and Locke, on government, and several works on the then infant science of 'political economy.' Towards the close of this chapter a few pages are given to Leibnitz's works on Roman law; the longest notice which, we regret to say, is bestowed upon this wonderful genius in these volumes.

The fifth chapter contains the history of Poetry. That of Italy, Spain, and France, presents little worthy of notice; but this chapter contains some able critiques on MILTON and Dryden, whose principal works are carefully examined. The history of dramatic literature, to which the sixth chapter is devoted, includes the golden age of the French theatre; and the principal works of Racine and Thomas Corneille pass under distinct review. To the plays of Dryden, and those of Otway, Congreve, Wycherley, and Farquhar, a scanty but in our opinion quite sufficient space is given. Who indeed could dwell with any complacency on a period which will ever be infamous in the annals of English dramatic literature?

The seventh chapter resumes the history of Polite Literature, and contains as usual a good deal on the state of language, style, and criticism, in France and England. Our author here makes some remarks on the prose style of Hobbes, Cowley, Dryden, and others.

Another topic of interest are the French novels and romances ; amongst others, Scarron's *Roman Comique*, and the *Télémaque* of Fénelon. The chapter closes with a notice of the few works of which English literature had yet to boast in the department of prose fiction ; more especially of the '*Pilgrim's Progress*,' and '*Swift's Tale of a Tub*.'

The eighth and last chapter contains the history of '*Physical and other Literature*,' and is too miscellaneous to permit us to enumerate the topics. The principal subjects treated of are those of chemistry, zoology, botany, and anatomy ; and the chief names which occur in it are those of BOYLE, Ray, Swammerdam, Grew, and Burnet. The closing sections of this chapter are on oriental literature, and on geography and history.

We think our readers will agree with us, that there have been few books published in modern times which can furnish a table of contents so copious and rich.

But this very variety and opulence perplex us in the selection of extracts. We will, however, do our best, and shall begin with the following sketch of Chillingworth's great work, '*The Religion of Protestants*.' We put this first not so much for the criticism, as for the bearing it has on the Oxford Tract controversies. The note, especially, is in itself a valuable testimony, and yields a forcible argument against our '*Romanizing Anglicans*.'

'This well-timed and important book [Daillé '*on the Use of the Fathers*'] met with a good reception from some in England, though it must have been very uncongenial to the ruling party. It was extolled and partly translated by Lord Falkland ; and his two distinguished friends, Chillingworth and Hales, found in it the materials of their own bold revolt against church authority. They were both Arminians, and, especially the former, averse in all respects to the Puritan school. But like Episcopius, they scorned to rely, as on these points they might have done, on what they deemed so precarious and inconclusive as the sentiments of the fathers. Chillingworth, as is well known, had been induced to embrace the Romish religion, on the usual ground, that a succession of infallible pastors, that is, a collective hierarchy, by adhering to whom alone we would be secure from error, was to be found in that church. He returned again to the Protestant religion, on being convinced that no such infallible society could be found. And a Jesuit, by name Knott, having written a book to prove that unrepenting Protestants could not be saved, Chillingworth published, in 1637, his famous answer, '*The Religion of Protestants a safe way to Salvation*.' In this he closely tracks the steps of his adversary, replying to every paragraph, and almost every sentence.

'Knott is by no means a despicable writer ; he is concise, polished, and places in an advantageous light the great leading arguments of his church. Chillingworth, with a more diffuse and less elegant style, is

greatly superior in impetuosity and warmth. In his long parenthetical periods, as in those of other old English writers, in his copiousness, which is never empty or tautological, there is an inartificial eloquence springing from strength of intellect and sincerity of feeling, that cannot fail to impress the reader. But his chief excellence is the close reasoning, which avoids every dangerous admission, and yields to no ambiguousness of language. He perceived and maintained with great courage, considering the times in which he wrote, and the temper of those he was not unwilling to keep as friends, his favorite tenet, that all things necessary to be believed are clearly laid down in Scripture. Of tradition, which many of his contemporary Protestants were becoming as prone to magnify as their opponents, he spoke very slightly; not denying of course a maxim often quoted from Vincentius Lirinensis, that a tradition strictly universal and aboriginal must be founded in truth, but being assured that no such could be shown; and that what came nearest, both in antiquity and in evidence of catholic reception, to the name of apostolical, were doctrines and usages rejected alike by all denominations of the church in modern times.* It will be readily conceived, that his method of dealing with the controversy is very different from that of Laud in his treatise against Fisher; wherein we meet chiefly with disputes on passages in the fathers, as to which, especially when they are not quoted at length, it is impossible that any reader can determine for himself. The work of Chillingworth may at least be understood and appreciated without reference to any other; the condition, perhaps, of real superiority in all productions of the mind.

Chillingworth was, however, a man versed in patristical learning, by no means less so, probably, than Laud. But he had found so much uncertainty about this course of theological doctrine, seducing as it generally is to the learned, 'fathers,' as he expresses it, 'being set against fathers, and councils against councils,' that he declares, in a well known passage, the Bible exclusively to be the religion of Protestants; and each man's own reason to be, as from the general tenor

* 'If there were any thing unwritten which had come down to us with as full and universal a tradition as the unquestioned books of canonical Scripture, that thing should I believe as well as the Scripture; but I have long sought for some such thing, and yet I am to seek; nay, I am confident no one point in controversy between Papists and Protestants can go in upon half so fair eards, for to gain the esteem of an apostolic tradition, as those things which are now decried on all hands, I mean the opinion of the Chiliasts and the communicating infants,' chap. 3, § 82. He dilates upon this insecurity of tradition in some detached papers, subjoined to the best editions of his work. Chillingworth might have added an instance if he had been writing against Romanizing Anglicans. Nothing can come so close to the foolish rule above mentioned, as the observation of celibacy by bishops and priests, not being married before their ordination, which, till the time of Luther, was, as far as we have reason to believe, universal in the church; no one, at least, has ever alleged an instance or authority to the contrary. Yet those who talk most of the rule of Vincentius Lirinensis set aside, without compunction, the only case in which we can truly say that it may, with some show of probability, be applied. *Omnia vincit amor.*'

of his volume it appears that he held it, the interpreter of the Bible.'
—Vol. iii. pp. 74—77.

Our next extract shall be the close of the long critique on Bacon. In comparing him with Galileo, our readers will perceive how different is the judgment of Mr. Hallam, from that given in the well known and superficial passage of Hume.

‘It is evident that he had turned his thoughts to physical philosophy rather for an exercise of his reasoning faculties, and out of his insatiable thirst for knowledge, than from any peculiar aptitude for their subjects, much less any advantage of opportunity for their cultivation. He was more eminently the philosopher of human, than of general nature. Hence he is exact as well as profound in all his reflections on civil life and mankind, while his conjectures in natural philosophy, though often very acute, are apt to wander far from the truth, in consequence of his defective acquaintance with the phenomena of nature. His *Centuries of Natural History* give abundant proof of this. He is in all these inquiries like one doubtfully, and by degrees, making out a distant prospect, but often deceived by the haze. But if we compare what may be found in the sixth, seventh, and eighth books *De Augmentis*, in the *Essays*, the *History of Henry VII.*, and the various short treatises contained in his works, on moral and political wisdom, and on human nature, from experience of which all such wisdom is drawn, with *Rhetoric*, *Ethics*, and *Politics* of Aristotle, or with the historians most celebrated for their deep insight into civil society and human character, with Thucydides, Tacitus, Philip de Comines, Machiavel, Davila, Hume, we shall, I think, find that one man may almost be compared with all of these together. When Galileo is named as equal to Bacon, it is to be remembered that Galileo was no moral or political philosopher, and in this department Leibnitz certainly falls very short of Bacon. Burke perhaps comes, of all modern writers, the nearest to him; but though Bacon may not be more profound than Burke, he is still more copious and comprehensive.

‘The comparison of Bacon and Galileo is naturally built upon the influence which, in the same age, they exerted in overthrowing the philosophy of the schools, and in founding that new discipline of real science which has rendered the last centuries glorious. Hume has given the preference to the latter, who made accessions to the domain of human knowledge so splendid, so inaccessible to cavil, so unequivocal in their results, that the majority of mankind would perhaps be carried along with this decision. There seems, however, to be no doubt that the mind of Bacon was more comprehensive and profound. But these comparisons are apt to involve *incommensurable* relations. In their own intellectual characters they bore no great resemblance to each other. Bacon had scarce any knowledge of geometry, and so far ranks much below not only Galileo, but Descartes, Newton, and Leibnitz, all signalized by wonderful discoveries in the science of quantity, or in that part of physics which employs it. He has, in one of the profound aphorisms of the *Novum Organum*, distinguished the two species of

philosophical genius, one more apt to perceive the differences of things, the other their analogies. In a mind of the highest order neither of these powers will be really deficient, and his own inductive method is at once the best exercise of both, and the best safeguard against the excess of either. But upon the whole it may certainly be said, that the genius of Lord Bacon was naturally more inclined to collect the resemblances of nature than to note her differences. This is the case with men like him of sanguine temper, warm fancy, and brilliant wit; but it is not the frame of mind which is best suited to strict reasoning.

‘It is no proof of a solid acquaintance with Lord Bacon’s philosophy, to deify his name as the ancient schools did those of their founders, or even to exaggerate the powers of his genius. Powers they were surprisingly great, yet limited in their range, and not in all respects equal; nor could they overcome every impediment of circumstance. Even of Bacon it may be said, that he attempted more than he has achieved, and perhaps more than he clearly apprehended. His objects appear sometimes indistinct, and I am not sure that they are always consistent. In the *Advancement of Learning*, he aspired to fill up, or at least to indicate, the deficiencies in every department of knowledge, he gradually confined himself to philosophy, and at length to physics. But few of his works can be deemed complete, not even the treatise *De Augmentis*, which comes nearer to it than most of the rest. Hence the study of Lord Bacon is difficult, and not, as I conceive, very well adapted to those who have made no progress whatever in the exact sciences, nor accustomed themselves to independent thinking. They have never been made a text-book in our universities; though after a judicious course of preparatory studies, by which I mean a good foundation in geometry and the philosophical principles of Grammar, the first book of the *Novum Organum* might be very advantageously combined with the instruction of an enlightened lecturer.

‘The ignorance of Bacon in mathematics, and, what was much worse, his inadequate notions of their utility, must be reckoned among the chief defects in his philosophical writings. In a remarkable passage of the *advancement of learning*, he held mathematics to be a part of metaphysics; but the place of this is altered in the Latin, and they are treated as merely auxiliary or instrumental to physical inquiry. He had some prejudice against pure mathematics, and thought they had been unduly elevated in comparison with the realities of nature. ‘I know not,’ he says, ‘how it has arisen that mathematics and logic, which ought to be the serving maids of physical philosophy, yet affecting to vaunt the certainty that belongs to them, presume to exercise a dominion over her.’ It is surely very erroneous to speak of geometry, which relates to the objective realities of space, and to natural objects so far as extended, as a mere handmaid of physical philosophy, and not rather a part of it. Playfair has made some good remarks on the advantages derived to experimental philosophy itself from the mere application of geometry and algebra. And one of the reflections which this ought to excite is, that we are not to conceive, as some

hastily do, that there can be no real utility to mankind, even of that kind of utility which consists in multiplying the conveniences and luxuries of life, springing from theoretical and speculative inquiry. The history of Algebra, so barren in the days of Tartaglia and Vieta, so productive of *wealth*, when applied to dynamical calculations in our own, may be a sufficient answer.

One of the petty blemishes which, though lost in the splendor of Lord Bacon's excellencies, it is not unfair to mention, is connected with the peculiar characteristics of his mind; he is sometimes too metaphorical and witty. His remarkable talent for discovering analogies seems to have inspired him with too much regard to them as arguments, even when they must appear to any common reader fanciful and far-fetched. His terminology, chiefly for the same reason, is often a little affected, and, in Latin, rather barbarous. The divisions of his prerogative instances in the *Novum Organum* are not always founded upon intelligible distinctions. And the general obscurity of the style, neither himself nor his assistants being good masters of the Latin language, which at the best is never flexible or copious enough for our philosophy, renders the perusal of both his great works too laborious for the impatient reader. Brucker has well observed, that the *Novum Organum* has been neglected by the generality, and proved of far less service than it would otherwise have been in philosophy, in consequence of these very defects, as well as the real depth of the author's mind.

What has been the fame of Bacon, 'the wisest, greatest, of mankind,' it is needless to say. What has been his real influence over mankind, how much of an enlarged and exact knowledge may be attributed to his inductive method, what of this again has been due to a thorough study of his writings, and what to an indirect and secondary acquaintance with them, are questions of another kind, and less easily solved. Stewart the philosopher, who has dwelt most on the praises of Bacon, while he conceives him to have exercised a considerable influence over the Englishmen of science in the seventeenth century, supposes on the authority of Montucla, that he did not 'command the general admiration of Europe,' till the publication of the preliminary discourse to the French Encyclopædia by Diderot and D'Alembert. This, however, is by much too precipitate a conclusion. He became almost immediately known on the continent. Gassendi was one of his most ardent admirers. Descartes mentions him, I believe, once only, in a letter to Mersenne in 1632; but he was of all men the most unwilling to praise a contemporary. It may be said that these were philosophers, and that their testimony does not imply the admiration of mankind. But writers of a very different character mention him in a familiar manner. Richelieu is said to have highly esteemed Lord Bacon. And it may in some measure be due to this, that in the *Sentimens de l'Académie Française sur le Cid*, he is alluded to simply by the name Bacon, as one well known. Voiture, in a letter to Costar, about the same time, bestows high eulogy on some passages of Bacon which his correspondent had sent to him; and observes that Horace would have been astonished to hear a barbarian Briton discourse in

such a style. The treatise *De Augmentis* was republished in France in 1624, the year after its appearance in England. It was translated into French as early as 1632; no great proofs of neglect. Editions came out in Holland in 1645, 1652, and 1662. Even the *Novum Organum*, which, as has been said, never became so popular as his other writings, was thrice printed in Holland, in 1645, 1650, and 1660. Leibnitz and Puffendorf are loud in their expression of admiration, the former ascribing to him the revival of true philosophy as fully as we can at present. I should be more inclined to doubt whether he were adequately valued by his countrymen in his own time, or in the immediately subsequent period. Under the first Stuarts, there was little taste among studious men but for theology, and chiefly for a theology which, proceeding with an extreme deference to authority, could not but generate a disposition of mind, even upon other subjects, alien to the progressive and inquisitive spirit of the inductive philosophy. The institution of the Royal Society, or rather the love of physical science out of which that institution arose, in the second part of the seventeenth century, made England resound with the name of her illustrious chancellor. Few now spoke of him without a kind of homage that only the greatest men receive. Yet still it was by natural philosophers alone that the writings of Bacon were much studied. The editions of his works, except the *Essays*, were few; the *Novum Organum* never came separately from the English press. They were not even much quoted; for I believe it will be found, that the fashion of referring to the brilliant passages of the *De Augmentis* and the *Novum Organum*, at least in books designed for the general reader, is not much older than the close of the last century. Scotland has the merit of having led the way; Reid, Stewart, Robinson, and Playfair, turned that which had been a blind veneration into a rational worship; and I should suspect that more have read Lord Bacon within these thirty years than in the two preceding centuries. It may be an usual consequence of the enthusiastic panegyrics lately poured upon his name, that a more positive efficacy has sometimes been attributed to his philosophical writings than they really possessed; and it might be asked, whether Italy, where he was probably not much known, were not the true school of experimental philosophy in Europe, whether his methods of investigation were not chiefly such as men of sagacity and lovers of truth might simultaneously have devised? But, whatever may have been the case with respect to actual discoveries in science, we must give to written wisdom its proper meed; no books prior to those of Lord Bacon carried mankind so far on the road to truth; none have obtained so thorough a triumph over arrogant usurpation without seeking to substitute another; and he may be compared with those liberators of nations, who have given them laws by which they might govern themselves, and retained no homage but their gratitude.

—Vol. iii. pp. 217—228.

The criticism on Shakspeare's intellectual character is not long; and as it is one of the very best in the whole work, we shall give it entire. We like it the better that while it gives a

comprehensive view, and indicates a profound admiration of this unrivalled genius, it is full of discrimination ; it does not scruple to admit that his works have blemishes. It has been the fashion, with many critics, to convert in their blind idolatry his very faults into excellencies, and to discover that he had inimitable reasons even for his mistakes and errors. With these men, it is not enough to admit that he is the 'greatest of the sons of men,' and that language is all too weak to express the wonderful variety and inexhaustible fertility of his mind ; if there be the slightest disposition to impute a fault, it is asserted that what appears a fault is no fault at all, and the very possibility of conceiving it such only argues an incapacity of perceiving the secret object or the profound art of this great genius. We have no sympathy with these refined 'æsthetics.'

*The name of Shakespeare is the greatest in our literature—it is the greatest in all literature. No man ever came near to him in the creative powers of the mind ; no man had ever such strength at once, and such variety of imagination. Coleridge has most felicitously applied to him a Greek epithet,—given before to I know not whom, certainly none so deserving of it—*μυριορονς*, the thousand-souled Shakespeare. The number of characters in his plays is astonishingly great, without reckoning those, who although transient, have often their individuality, all distinct, all types of human life in well defined differences. Yet he never takes an abstract quality to embody it, scarcely, perhaps, a definite condition of manners, as Jonson does ; nor did he draw much, as I conceive, from living models ; there is no manifest appearance of personal caricature in his comedies, though in some slight traits of character this may not improbably have been the case. Above all, neither he nor his contemporaries wrote for the stage in the worst, though most literal, and of late years the most usual sense ; making the servants and handmaids of dramatic invention to lord over it, and limiting the capacities of the poet's mind to those of the performers. If this poverty of the representative department of the drama had hung like an incumbent fiend on the creative power of Shakespeare, how would he have poured forth with such inexpressible prodigality the vast diversity of characters that we find in some of his plays ? This it is in which he leaves far behind not the dramatists alone, but all writers of fiction. Compare with him Homer, the tragedians of Greece, the poets of Italy, Plautus, Cervantes, Moliere, Addison, Le Sage, Fielding, Richardson, Scott, the romancers of the elder or later schools,—one man has far more than surpassed them all. Others may have been as sublime, others may have been more pathetic, others may have equalled him in grace and purity of language, and have shunned some of its faults ; but the philosophy of Shakespeare, his intimate searching out of the human heart, whether in the gnomic form of sentence, or in the dramatic exhibition of character, is a gift peculiarly his own. It is, if not entirely wanting, very little manifested in comparison with him, by the English drama-

tists of his own and the subsequent period, whom we are about to approach.

‘These dramatists, as we shall speedily perceive, are hardly less inferior to Shakespeare in judgment. To this quality I particularly advert, because foreign writers, and sometimes our own, have imputed an extraordinary barbarism and rudeness to his works. They belong, indeed, to an age sufficiently rude and barbarous in its entertainments, and are of course to be classed with what is called the romantic school, which has hardly yet shaken off that reproach. But no one who has perused the plays anterior to those of Shakespeare, or contemporary with them, or subsequent to them down to the closing of the theatres in the civil war, will pretend to deny that there is far less regularity, in regard to every thing where regularity can be desired, in a large proportion of these (perhaps in all the tragedies), than in his own. We need only repeat the names of the Merchant of Venice, Romeo and Juliet, Macbeth, Othello, the Merry Wives of Windsor, Measure for Measure. The plots in these are excellently constructed, and in some with uncommon artifice. But even where an analysis of the story might excite criticism, there is generally an unity of interest which tones the whole. The Winter’s Tale is not a model to follow, but we feel that the Winter’s Tale is a single story; it is even managed as such with consummate skill. It is another proof of Shakespeare’s judgment, that he has given action enough to his comedies without the bustling intricacy of the Spanish stage. If his plots have any little obscurity in some parts, it is from copying his novel or history too minutely.

‘The idolatry of Shakespeare has been carried so far of late years, that Drake and, perhaps, greater authorities, have been unwilling to acknowledge any faults in his plays. This, however, is an extravagance rather derogatory to the critic than honorable to the poet. Besides the blemishes of construction in some of his plots, which are pardonable, but still blemishes, there are too many in his style. His conceits and quibbles often spoil the effect of his scenes, and take off from the passion he would excite. In the last act of Richard II., the Duke of York is introduced demanding the punishment of his son Aumale for a conspiracy against the king, while the duchess implores mercy. The scene is ill conceived and worse executed throughout; but one line is both atrocious and contemptible. The duchess having dwelt upon the word *pardon*, and urged the king to let her hear it from his lips, York takes her up with this stupid quibble :

‘Speak it in French, king; say, Pardonnez moi.’

It would not be difficult to find several other instances, though none, perhaps, quite so bad, of verbal equivocations, misplaced and inconsistent with the person’s, the author’s, the reader’s sentiment.

‘Few will defend these notorious faults. But is there not one, less frequently mentioned, yet of more continual recurrence; the extreme obscurity of Shakespeare’s diction? His style is full of new words in

new senses. It is easy to pass this over as obsolescence ; but though many expressions are obsolete and many provincial, though the labor of his commentators has never been so profitably, as well as so diligently employed, as in tracing this by the help of the meanest and most forgotten books of the age, it is impossible to deny that innumerable lines in Shakespeare were not more intelligible in his time than they are at present. Much of this may be forgiven, or rather is so incorporated with the strength of his reason and fancy, that we love it as the proper body of Shakespeare's soul. Still we can justify the very numerous passages which yield to no interpretation, knots which are never unloosed, which conjecture does but cut, or even those, which, if they may at last be understood, keep the attention in perplexity till the first emotion has passed away. And these occur not merely in places where the struggles of the speaker's mind may be well denoted by some obscurities of language, as in the soliloquies of Hamlet and Macbeth, but in dialogues between ordinary personages, and in the business of the play. We learn Shakespeare, in fact, as we learn a language, or as we read a difficult passage in Greek, with the eye glancing on the commentary ; and it is only after much study that we come to forget a part, it can be but a part, of the perplexities he has caused us. This was no doubt one reason that he was less read formerly, his style passing for obsolete, though in many parts, as we have just said, it was never much more intelligible than it is. It does not appear probable that Shakespeare was ever placed below, or merely on a level with the other dramatic writers of this period. That his plays were not so frequently represented as those of Fletcher, is little to the purpose ; they required a more expensive decoration, a larger company of good performers, and above all, they were less intelligible to a promiscuous audience. But it is certain that throughout the seventeenth century, and even in the writings of Addison and his contemporaries, we seldom or never meet with that complete recognition of his supremacy, and that unhesitating preference of him to all the world, which has become the faith of the last and the present century. And it is remarkable, that this apotheosis, so to speak, of Shakespeare was originally the work of what has been styled a frigid and tasteless generation, the age of George II. Much is certainly due to the stage itself, when those appeared who could guide and control the public taste, and discover that in the poet himself which sluggish imagination could not have reached. The enthusiasm for Shakespeare is nearly coincident with that for Garrick ; it was kept up by his followers, and especially by that highly gifted family which has but recently been withdrawn from our stage.

Among the commentators on Shakespeare, Warburton, always striving to display his own acuteness and scorn of others, deviates more than any one else from the meaning. Theobald was the first who did a little. Johnson explained much well, but there is something magisterial in the manner wherein he dismisses each play like a boy's exercise, that irritates the reader. His criticism is frequently judicious, but betrays no ardent admiration for Shakespeare. Malone and Steevens were two laborious commentators on the meaning of words and

phrases ; one dull, the other clever ; but the dulness was accompanied by candor and a love of truth, the cleverness by a total absence of both. Neither seems to have had a full discernment of Shakespeare's genius. The numerous critics of the last age, who were not editors, have poured out much that is trite and insipid, much that is hypercritical and erroneous ; yet collectively they not only bear witness to the public taste for the poet, but taught men to judge and feel more accurately than they would have done for themselves. Hurd and Lord Kaimes, especially the former, may be reckoned among the best of this class ; Mrs. Montagu, perhaps, in her celebrated essay, not very far from the bottom of the list. In the present century, Coleridge and Schlegel, so nearly at the same time that the question of priority and even plagiarism has been mooted, gave a more philosophical, and at the same time a more intrinsically exact view of Shakespeare, than their predecessors. What has since been written, has often been highly acute and æsthetic, but occasionally with an excess of refinement which substitutes the critic for the work. Mrs. Jameson's essays on the female characters of Shakespeare are among the best. It was right that this province of illustration should be reserved for a woman's hand.'

—Vol. iii. pp. 574—581.

The remaining extract shall be from the critique on the *Don Quixote* of Cervantes ; and here again we have to record our satisfaction that Mr. Hallam's sound judgment has led him to discountenance that over-subtle, transcendental criticism which finds out that Cervantes contemplated certain exquisite and refined objects in the composition of the work, which criticism has but just disclosed—that the views entertained of its character by ninety-nine out of every hundred who read it are quite erroneous, and that, in fact, instead of being one of the most mirthful, it is one of the most melancholy books ever written.

'The first part of *Don Quixote* was published in 1605. We have no reason, I believe, to suppose that it was written long before. It became immediately popular ; and the admiration of the world raised up envious competitors, one of whom, Avellanada, published a continuation in a strain of invective against the author. Cervantes, who cannot be imagined to have ever designed the leaving his romance in so unfinished a state, took time about the second part, which did not appear till 1615.

'*Don Quixote* is the only book in the Spanish language which can now be said to possess much of European reputation. It has, however, enjoyed enough to compensate for the neglect of all the rest. It is to Europe in general, what Ariosto is to Italy, and Shakespeare to England ; the one book to which the slightest allusions may be made without affectation, but not missed without discredit. Numerous translations and countless editions of them, in every language, bespeak its adaptation to mankind ; no critic has been paradoxical enough to withhold his admiration, no reader has ventured to confess

a want of relish for that in which the young and old, in every climate, have age after age taken delight. They have doubtless believed that they understood the author's meaning; and, in giving the reins to the gaiety that his fertile invention and comic humour inspired, never thought of any deeper meaning than he announces, or delayed their enjoyment for any metaphysical investigation of his plan.

'A new school of criticism, however, has of late years arisen in Germany, acute, ingenious, and sometimes eminently successful in philosophical, or as they denominate it, æsthetic analysis of works of taste, but gliding too much into refinement and conjectural hypothesis, and with a tendency to mislead men of inferior capacities for this kind of investigation into mere paradox and absurdity. An instance is supplied, in my opinion, by some remarks of Bouterwek, still more explicitly developed by Sismondi, on the design of Cervantes in *Don Quixote*, and which have been repeated in other publications. According to these writers, the primary idea is that of a 'man of elevated character excited by heroic and enthusiastic feelings to the extravagant pitch of wishing to restore the age of chivalry; nor is it possible to form a more mistaken notion of this work than by considering it merely as a satire, intended by the author to ridicule the absurd passion for reading old romances.' 'The fundamental idea of *Don Quixote*,' says Sismondi, 'is the eternal contrast between the spirit of poetry and that of prose. Men of an elevated soul propose to themselves as the object of life to be the defenders of the weak, the support of the oppressed, the champions of justice and innocence. Like *Don Quixote*, they find on every side the image of the virtues they worship; they believe that disinterestedness, nobleness, courage, in short knight-errantry, are still prevalent; and with no calculation of their own powers, they expose themselves for an ungrateful world, they offer themselves as a sacrifice to the laws and rules of an imaginary state of society.'

'If this were a true representation of the scheme of *Don Quixote*, we cannot wonder that some persons should, as M. Sismondi tells us they do, consider it as the most melancholy book that has ever been written. They consider it also, no doubt, one of the most immoral, as chilling and pernicious in its influence on the social converse of mankind, as the *Prince of Machiavel* is on their political intercourse. 'Cervantes,' he proceeds, 'has shown us in some measure the vanity of greatness of soul and the delusion of heroism. He has drawn in *Don Quixote* a perfect man (*un homme accompli*), who is nevertheless the constant object of ridicule. Brave beyond the fabled knights he imitates, disinterested, honorable, generous, the most faithful and respectful of lovers, the best of masters, the most accomplished and well educated of gentlemen, all his enterprizes end in discomfiture to himself, and in mischief to others.' M. Sismondi descants upon the perfections of the knight of *La Mancha* with a gravity which is not quite easy for his readers to preserve.

'It might be answered by a phlegmatic observer, that a mere enthusiasm for doing good, if excited by vanity, and not accompanied by common sense, will seldom be very serviceable to ourselves or to others;

that men who in their heroism and care for the oppressed, would throw open the cages of lions, and set galley-slaves at liberty, not forgetting to break the limbs of harmless persons whom they mistake for wrongdoers, are a class of whom Don Quixote is the real type ; and that the world being much the worse for such heroes, it might not be immoral, notwithstanding their benevolent enthusiasm, to put them out of countenance by a little ridicule. This, however, is not as I conceive, the primary aim of Cervantes ; nor do I think that the exhibition of one great truth, as the predominant, but concealed moral of a long work, is in the spirit of his age. He possessed a very thoughtful mind and a profound knowledge of humanity ; yet the generalization which the hypothesis of Bouterwek and Sismondi requires for the leading conception of Don Quixote, besides its being a little inconsistent with the valorous and romantic character of its author, belongs to a more advanced period of philosophy than his own. It will at all events, I presume, be admitted that we cannot reason about Don Quixote except from the book, and I think it may be shown in a few words that these ingenious writers have been chiefly misled by some want of consistency which circumstances produced in the author's delineation of his hero.—*Ib.* pp. 666—669.

Here we must conclude our extracts, and our review. We have not spoken a word of censure ; not, of course, that in a work so voluminous and of such a miscellaneous character, we can approve of every sentiment or subscribe to every statement ; but because the things to which we object are for the most part inconsiderable. We must, however, justify our title to be considered reviewers (who probably never saw a book with which they could find no fault), by mentioning two of considerable magnitude. They are not sins of 'commission,' but of 'omission ;' we complain not of what Mr. Hallam has done, but of what he has left undone.

In the first place he has not given us the history of mathematics during the last period treated of ; that is from 1650 to 1700. His reasons, indeed, for the omission are stated with great modesty. He tells us not only that 'the length to which he has 'found himself compelled to extend these volumes might be 'an adequate apology,' but 'he has one more insuperable in the 'slightness of his own acquaintance with subjects so momentous 'and difficult, and upon which he could not write without presumptuousness and much peril of betraying ignorance. The 'names, therefore, of Wallis and Huygens, Newton, and Leibnitz, must be passed with distant reverence.' We are disposed to think the former apology rather the stronger of the two ; for from the manner in which Mr. Hallam has treated the same subject from 1600 to 1650, we cannot help thinking that with the same free and pardonable use of professed writers on the history

of this department of science, he might have given a very tolerable summary of the matters now passed over, and in this way have secured the completeness of his work.

The other deficiency is, that he has not carried on his history beyond 1700, and what is worse, he appears to have made up his mind never to do so. Considering the gigantic nature of his undertaking, how much he has achieved, how long he must have been oppressed by it, and with what delight he must have recovered his freedom, we cannot wonder at the decision he has come to. When we consider, however, the many men who flourished during the last century (more especially in England, France, and Germany), on whose writings and genius we should have been glad to have the judgment of one so well qualified to pronounce it, we cannot help strongly regretting that we must hope for no more from his pen. At the same time, it becomes the world of letters to express their sincere gratitude for what he has done.

Art. IV. 1. *Continental India*. By J. W. MASSIE, M.R.I.A. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Ward and Co. 1840.

2. *British India, in its Relation to the Decline of Hindooism and the Progress of Christianity, &c.* By the Rev. W. CAMPBELL. 8vo. pp. 596. London: John Snow. 1839.

3. *Sketches of a Missionary's Travels in Egypt, Syria, Western Africa, &c.* By R. MAXWELL MACBRAIR, Author of the *Mandingo Grammar, &c.* 8vo. pp. 332. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1839.

FOURTEEN pounds and a few odd shillings to convert to Christianity some hundred millions of idolaters! and a shoemaker for the apostle, who, of course, poor man, amid the profound mysteries of his craft, had never heard the motto, *Ne sutor, &c.* Such were the taunts that followed the first English missionaries, Carey and Thomas, to the Indian shores; and loud and bitter was the laugh of scorn which a clerical reviewer assisted to raise, while gentle and simple, the learned and the rude, joined most heartily in his sport. Very ludicrous, certainly, that an obscure Christian should be affected with compassion at the awful condition of his fellow men; and, not leaving such matters to his betters, should himself meditate mighty deeds of enterprising benevolence. Of course, there was no elevation of soul, no loftiness of purpose, nothing resembling boldness or magnanimity in the mind that could revolve such thoughts. 'These workings produced a sermon at Northampton, and the sermon a subscription

‘to convert four hundred and twenty millions of pagans!’ It was all sheer folly, and so the scourge was prepared and was vigorously wielded by a reverend hand; but alas! the drivellers who were bent on converting the mild, the gentle, the innocent Hindoos, were an incorrigible set. The miserable creatures whose hearts were set on introducing the gospel into India, were ‘quite insane and ungovernable: they would deliberately, piously, and conscientiously, expose our whole Eastern empire to destruction for the sake of converting half a dozen Brahmins, who, after stuffing themselves with rum and rice, and borrowing money from the missionaries, would run away, and cover the gospel and its professors with every species of impious ridicule and abuse.’ Remonstrances, very pathetic and very indignant, were made against the unhappy exhibition of Christian truth which would be inevitable in such hands. ‘Who wishes,’ it was touchingly demanded, ‘to see scrofula and atheism cured by a single sermon in Bengal? Who wishes to see the religious hoy riding at anchor in the Hoogly river? or shoals of jumpers exhibiting their nimble piety before the learned Brahmins of Benares?’

But thirty years have elapsed since these sentences were penned; and the laugh and the sneer at ‘Indian Missions,’ in which a reverend reviewer deemed it befitting to indulge, have happily died away amid the prayers and rejoicings of the church. But we must drop this strain, and proceed to notice the volumes before us.

Our readers will allow us, then, to introduce to their notice Mr. Massie, a gentleman with whom his book seems to have made us acquainted as with a friend; and having passed some pleasant and profitable hours in his society, we wish to communicate the pleasure we have received. Without intruding personal or relative circumstances on our notice, Mr. Massie succeeds in interesting the reader at the first introduction, and securing his confidence and sympathy. He sailed from England in the year 1822: we sigh with him as the last farewell is pronounced, and when, after the lapse of a few months, the second volume opens with a touching reference to the desolation of his heart, as the desire of his eyes was removed as by a stroke, we turned back to the page which recorded their embarkation, all in all to each other, and closing the book—but no matter; the communion of saints is more intimate than some imagine.

The fourth chapter, devoted to the antiquity and commerce of the East, affords a valuable epitome of the proofs which illustrate the claims of the Hindoos to be considered among the earliest, if not, indeed, *the* earliest, civilized nation on the earth; their antiquity rising to a period which throws us back almost upon the infancy of the world. Comparatively unchanged, they are the living mummies of long past ages; for the city we read of in ‘The

Arabian Nights,' whose inhabitants were turned to stone, has, to a great extent, its parallel in all India, which is one unburied Herculaneum, offering to the eye of an observer in the nineteenth century, the same appearances as when the Macedonian madman pushed his conquests thither. The reader who is not acquainted with the works of Heeren and others, will be much interested by our author's able condensation of the various illustrations of Indian antiquity. Mr. Massie, however, has had the advantage which the German philosopher had not, of investigating the subject on the spot, and is, moreover, an independent witness. His chief references are to its articles of *merchandise*,—the same when Ezekiel mused by the river Chebar, when Moses prescribed the use of certain spices in the religious offerings of the Jews, and when the son of Jacob was transferred to a company of merchants bearing the spices of India into Egypt, as they are now; to its *literature*, for 'the language which is now the depository of their religion, and the organ of their institutes, was a dead language long ere any modern European language was spoken; while the dialects now used by the Hindoos contain works of undoubted antiquity, not as translations, but original productions:' to its *religion*, 'the innovations on which may be traced in the transmigrations of their sculptured monuments, in their obsolete temples, and their scattered and persecuted sectaries, pointing to a very remote antiquity.' Temples are there, deserted and time-worn, whose sculptured figures bear no resemblance to any of the idols that have for ages received the homage of the people, and whose inscriptions are in characters which none can decipher, even the Sanscrit itself furnishing no key. Other temples exist, reared or excavated from the solid rock, to Buddha, and in which Buddhist emblems are found exclusively. Another class, long fallen into disuse too, presents a mixture of Brahminical emblems with the former ones, denoting the transition stage; while in a fourth class every thing is purely Brahminical.

The commerce of India is then treated of, and the sketches are indeed 'interesting, not merely as the subject of antiquarian research, but as links for connecting the wide spread nations with their common birth-place, and their primeval parentage; for putting in stronger relief the changes which have passed on eastern nations; and for developing the causes which have fixed the character of oriental society in the fashion of olden time, and stamped the lineaments of modern Asia with the mould of antiquity.'

Mr. Massie proceeds to make us acquainted with the aspect of the country. Our readers will be struck with the confirmation afforded by the following extract of the view we gave last month of the 'Present Condition of British India.' It is, moreover, the testimony of an eye witness.

‘It was a fond conceit with some sinister adversaries of Christian missions, to represent the people of India as *innocent* Hindoos, and to speak of them either as of one family or of one religion. A better acquaintance, or a more impartial testimony, will *variously* describe their separate tribes as cruel, insidious, and sensual, though cunning, ambitious, talented, warlike; as roving, thieving, murdering, free-booting, and vindictive; sanguinary, untameable, and haughty; as filthy, mercenary, piratical, turbulent, bigoted, and degraded; as ferocious, depraved, dissolute, restless, mendicant, and avaricious. . . . Their habitations are more wretched than can be conceived by Englishmen, so that I have often passed through agricultural villages, and found the people preferring the road side as their place of midnight rest; their food is of the coarsest fare, and insufficient to sustain animal strength; while even of this, their supply is far less than appetite required. . . . The clothing of the laboring poor is not so much as will be a veil to cover the shame of nakedness: a rag not worth *threepence* is often the only garment for tender and feminine delicacy, for the aged parent, and the man of gray hairs. Native laborers work for native masters sometimes for so low wages as a penny or twopence per day; and they are deemed well paid if they receive as servants to Europeans fourpence daily.’

—Massie, vol. i. pp. 254, 255.

We must give the statement which follows, anxious that correct information respecting the condition of our conquered tribes should be widely diffused.

‘It is, however, in the oft-recurring scenes of famine, of dry seasons, and partial crops, that the physical wretchedness of Hindoos is fully developed. . . . The land-owners and land-agents, provision-dealers, and corn-merchants, prey upon the poor and needy, traffic in famine, and enrich themselves by wants and woes, by the despair and deaths of the famished myriads. . . . I have stood among them when the dead were lying at my feet, and when the dying fell by my side; when the leprous, maimed in hands and feet, exhibited their loathsome extremities; when old age and childhood were covered by the ulcers and pustules of the small-pox; when haggard famine sat upon the wan and sunken cheek, and the hollow eye of thousands. . . . To prevent the tens of thousands, perishing in one country, from passing into neighbouring districts, it was deemed expedient to erect barriers, and place an armed force, lest they should paralyze the local benevolence which was struggling to mitigate the sufferings of the surrounding poor. I have seen the miserable and emaciated victims of famine searching among the *excrements* of camels, elephants, and cattle, for particles of grain which had passed undigested. Such scenes, if they occurred only once in the history of a nation, were enough to excite the commiseration of mankind, and bring suspicion upon the wisdom of the men by whom the people were governed. Unhappily, however, they have been of frequent recurrence in British India; *periodically* have they been experienced; three times within fifteen years. Private

letters, official accounts, and other sources of information, unite with my evidence in representing that people subject to such alarming and consuming destitution ; famishing myriads depending on the scanty supplies of charity ; hundreds and thousands perishing from want and attendant diseases ; villages and rural districts depopulated by migration and death ; the streams and rivers choked or poisoned by the putrid carcases of a people dying in too great numbers to be buried by surviving relatives : death not only arrayed in its most ghastly form, but also serving to generate diseases at which trembling mortality shudders, and over which human courage and science exercise no control. Cholera, with all its terrors, has been rendered even desirable, compared with the more fearful and resistless ravages of hydrophobia. Gaunt and squalid wretchedness, emaciated and skeleton forms, endued with a vigor which despair and rabid disease impart, have peopled the streets and hovered round the dwellings of European residents to indicate the misery which Hindoo subjects of the British crown endure.

‘ In 1833, famine prevailed in the Bombay and Madras presidencies, during which the destruction was awful. More than 150,000 miserable creatures fled from their country to seek in the neighbourhood of the capital the means of sustaining life. Myriads perished at home and on the roads, and the remnant who did not abandon the country parts, and yet continued to sustain life, were reduced to a state of emaciation which defies description. Their personal appearance was scarcely human ; their anatomy was nearly as much developed as that of actual skeletons ; the articulation of each joint but for the skin might have been traced : their bellies were unnaturally swollen, and their colour was of the deepest jet.

‘ These were British subjects, who had been taken under control, and made tributaries to the support of government ; whose land was taxed so highly that no more than seven-sixteenths of the produce went to the husbandmen ; and whose fruits of industry could be sold to no other merchant than their irresponsible government ; while they had been able to purchase goods in no market but what their rulers furnished. It is a country where the tax and land collector, where the judges and arbiters in all contests or disputes, are the armed conquerors and rulers of the region. Are these rulers, to whom have been committed the destinies of alienated myriads, sufficient for so onerous a responsibility, while politicians and statesmen at home may be alike ignorant and indifferent to the immense interests at stake ? Wise men would fear to assume the power and ascendancy with which eastern rulers, not peculiarly gifted or experienced, have been invested.’

—Massie, vol. i. pp. 256—259.

Mr. M., after furnishing us with an abstract of some of the exploits of their gods, from the Puranas and minor Shastras, and painted in colors most appalling, but alas ! too true, indignantly asks, ‘ And what have we, as a people, done to alter or amend their state ? ’ Aye, what have we done ? *we* so exalted in the scale of nations, so jealous of our honor, so devoted to religion that our government prescribes every prayer that may be offered in all the

parish churches of our land? What? Why, as on the stage an actor utters some fine sentiment with earnestness and apparent sincerity, and then, aside, and in a lower tone, discloses a totally different feeling—so have we as a nation prated about our attachment to Christianity and to Protestantism; we have placed our hand upon our heart, and with abundant emphasis have professed our willingness to make the last sacrifices for our venerable faith; the stake and the gibbet would be cordially embraced for our beloved religion; the finest sentiments have been uttered, *ore rotundo*, and then—we have stared with infinite contempt, or laughed outright, at the simpletons who took all this profession for any thing more than clever acting, or stage effect.

Oh, England, shame on thy national hypocrisy! How long shall thy rulers be but a company of players, and thy most renowned edifices be too deservedly looked upon as playhouses? Why should British Protestantism be for a taunt and a by word among the nations, like the *Punica fides* of ancient times?

‘The government of Britain, as exercised in India, have upheld the sacred places—the mosques of their Moslem predecessors; they have sanctioned and regulated, as by a legal calendar, the great feasts of Hindoo idolatry; the temples held most sacred, the gods most honored, and the festivals most generally observed, have been protected, represented as sacred, and made a source of government revenue. Solemn treaties have been made between British rulers and Hindoo gods; the great idols have been clothed, under the orders and subject to the directions of government, with English broad-cloth, and their table furnished with a daily provision from the Company’s godowns. Missions, to arouse the fervor and increase the number of their devotees, have been sent forth and rewarded under the arrangement and presidency of the British; the priests have been paid, and their licentious orgies and courtesans have been provided for from the treasury of the government. The highest and most officially dignified functionaries have been seated at the gates of idol temples, and received the revenue—the pilgrim tax; and men called Christians have been required to do honor to the stocks and stones; to fire salutes, and walk in processions, when these images were carried forth, revered, and adored. Christian worship has been neglected, in some cases *set aside*, and the day which God has made for himself has been prostituted to the services of the mock deities by British authorities, civil and military. An ignominious brand has been fixed on the name of Jesus; and converts to his faith from among the Hindoos have been removed from offices of trust, have been excluded from the Indian army, and refused the distinction or emolument of government service.’

—Massie, vol. i. p. 278.

With facts like these engraven upon our minds, the finest

speeches in parliament about 'our venerable religion,' are airy nothings or grand impertinences. Lords in lawn or out of lawn may express their pious horror at the wretched dogmas of Owen, but the mask is threadbare, and beneath it the real workings of the face are visible. Nothing can be conceived of, by the most fertile imagination, more grossly insulting to the Almighty Ruler than the iniquities sanctioned, rewarded, and maintained by the British government in India. Away, then, with the cant of professing such a regard to religion at home! Let not the miry hands that lay hold of the obscene emblems of Hindoo idolatry be laid on the ark of God; nor they who pander to Brahmin lust, and offer sacrifices to devils be allowed to legislate for Christianity. Well may the voluntaries of Britain exult, and raise their songs of praise, that they have no such patrons; right gladly may they leave the Church as 'by law established,' to share the smiles and favors of rulers with the worshippers of India's 'ugly gods.' We say—*share* the favors—for not merely are Brahmins supported and idols clothed, not merely is idolatry taken under fostering patronage and kindly greeted, but the Church of England too is placed on the list of pensioners, and even at the top of the honorable list.

'India has been territorially assigned to the Church of England, and a revenue secured by taxation, and land rental from the Hindoos has been appropriated with imperial profusion. Bishops for Calcutta, for Madras, and for Bombay, with their several arch-deacons, have been appointed and endowed so plentifully, and invested with such official importance, that the Lord Padre Sahib is second only in rank to the governors. Chaplains in some seventy or eighty places have been settled, whose annual cost is from ninety to a hundred thousand pounds.'—Massie, vol. i. p. 280.

We are reminded of scenes that occasionally meet the eye at home, when two furious combatants are equally encouraged by the beholders, who pat the shoulders of first one and then the other. Government supports idolatry now, and anon Christianity; sends out Christian priests to overturn idolatry, and immediately strengthens the idol priests to bear the aggression. Well, no doubt this is as wise as it is pious.

'The King of France, with twenty thousand men,
Marched up the hill, and then marched down again.'

Though our duty to the author and to the reader almost requires us to leave this subject, so awfully interesting, yet we can scarcely restrain our pen. There are facts which must be told and told again. Take the following as given by Mr. Campbell.

‘One of the last acts which Lord William Bentinck passed, previously to his departure from India, was the abolition of flogging in the native army. Never I am sure did it enter his liberal and benevolent mind that this act should be applied to persons of one religion, while it was withheld from those of another, and least of all that it should become a persecuting edict against Christianity. But where will the malice and the ingenuity of the enemy not find a ground for hostility to the truth, and for the support of evil principles? The bands of these native battalions are usually composed of Protestants and Roman Catholics, who, in the vocabulary of the army, receive the general name of Christians. During the following year one of these men deserted, but finding his way hedged up, and that escape was impracticable, he returned to his corps, gave himself up, and entreated for mercy. But no grace was to be shown to such a criminal. He was brought to a court-martial, and was sentenced to receive two hundred lashes. This finding and sentence required to be confirmed by the commanding officer of the district, and this gentleman, understanding the act in the spirit in which it was granted, ventured to call in question the legality of this sentence. But not wishing to trust too much to his own judgment in the matter, he referred his doubts to the judge-advocate. What was the reply of this officer? *‘There is not room,’ said he, ‘for a doubt upon the subject; the act of abolition was only intended for Hindoos and Mahommedans; the boon was never intended for native Christians at all; and the sentence should be carried into execution immediately.’* What was the conclusion of the affair? This poor native, because he was a Christian, and wore the badge of our holy religion, was taken to the parade, and in the presence of hundreds of Hindoos and Mahommedans, received two hundred lashes, as in testimony to all, that whatever lenity and consideration might be shown to orthodox pagans, none would be extended to poor, degraded, and outcast Christians. Is it to be wondered at that men, who are perhaps only Christians in name, should abandon a religion which exposes them to such treatment, and should, as it is affirmed, become idolaters and Mussulmans to avoid such vengeance and such brutality?’

—Campbell’s India, p. 484.

In the year 1832, a Mahommedan at Bangalore, wishing to excite popular indignation against Christianity and Christian rule, secretly killed a pig, and placed it in the Eedgah, sprinkling its blood over the place to pollute it. The utmost rage was kindled; and the military were obliged to restore peace and order.

‘But notwithstanding it was so plain that a Mahommedan was the author of this outrage, and that the views of this part of the community were decidedly hostile to the British power, what was the policy which the Madras government pursued? They sympathised most deeply with the offended Mussulmans; it was seriously debated in the council-chamber whether all the missionaries should not be turned out of Bangalore, to mark the displeasure of the authorities at their exertions; tracts, it was maintained, had been industriously circu-

lated, and had exasperated the minds of the populace. A splendid Eedgah, it was determined, should be erected, instead of the contemptible one that was defiled; and as though they would make it abundantly manifest that they were not only willing to support idolatry and Mahommedan delusion, but, in doing so, to degrade the religion of the Bible, and dishonor those who believe it, they called upon two Christian officers to superintend the erection of this monument of infamy! 'No,' was the decided reply of these Christian gentlemen; but they soon fell under the displeasure of the authorities, and experienced the effects of their power. Another officer, whose conscience was not so tender, undertook the management of the work; and there it stands on the north side of Bangalore,—a tower of Babel—a gratuitous testimonial to Mahommedan superstition—and a memorial of disgrace to a Christian government.'—Campbell, p. 486.

Mr. Campbell, after proclaiming the gospel on one occasion, in the neighbourhood of a splendid temple, was thus replied to by a Brahmin:—

'Who are you that come here to find fault with our religion? What may be your names? Is not this temple supported by the British government? The Brahmins, the priests, the dancing-women, and all the attendants upon the altar, do they not receive their monthly allowance from the public treasury? The endowments, the internal economy, the times of worship, and the celebration of the festivals, are they not all under the care and superintendence of the collector? Do not European ladies and gentlemen make presents to the god? Why, it was only the other day that a battalion of Seapoys was passing this road; the cholera was among them; the commanding officer gave them fifty rupees to purchase sheep, and to present a sacrifice to Kalee, and when they were offering these sheep to propitiate the goddess, that commanding-officer came himself, and bowed down to the image. Who then are you, that come here to scandalize our divinities?'

—Campbell, p. 497.

In districts where idolatry was falling into decay under the rule of independent and idolatrous princes, it has experienced a wondrous revival on those provinces passing into British possession.

'As we descended upon the Mysore, which up to that period had been under the rule of an independent and idolatrous prince, what was the state of paganism in that province? Strange as it may appear, the pagodas were neglected and impoverished; and where it might be supposed that Hindooism would be most prosperous, the idols were fast falling into disrepute. But this abandonment did not long continue. No sooner did the British undertake the superintendence of the province, than the neglected system began to revive. In the end of 1835, a festival was celebrated in Bangalore, in honor of the idol Venkutrannu. For six or seven years previously, that shrine had been

disregarded ; but it was now renewed under the patronage of the government ; and the Subedar, as the native authority, laid a tax upon every house, and was exacting it with the strong arm of power, to celebrate the feast, while the people were loud in their complaints against this measure, deeming it illegal and oppressive, and declaring that they had never been so taxed under the rajah. This instance proved not only that the government patronage is continued as before in their own provinces, but that in a kingdom which has recently fallen under their authority, where, under its native prince, idolatry was neglected and where it might have safely been left to the voluntary support of its votaries, the British government has gratuitously given its sanction to its revival and establishment.'

—Campbell, pp. 498, 499.

And why, if we may dare to speak thus, why should not the Hindoos be taxed, and be forcibly made to pay, for the maintenance of their idol worship, when we at home are taxed for the maintenance of what happens to be our national worship? A strange inconsistency it would be for idolaters to be left voluntaries in religion, while we Christians cannot be left to the force of even our divine principles. No, no; let India be assimilated to England; if the compulsory system be the correct one, as our church-and-state men allege, why, establish it all the world over we say. But oh, ye friends to missions, who contribute of your substance, many of you of your deep poverty, and who pray perpetually for the advancement of Christ's cause, see whence the greatest opposition arises; mark, learn, and inwardly digest the facts above related; and let your pious abhorrence of national establishments rise and swell beyond the little channel in which, hitherto, it has so peacefully flowed. Thanks to the absurdity of a national Christianity, that the Christian name is borne by every Englishman, and is converted into a weapon of hostility to the real cause of Christ.

We sincerely hope that the volumes we are considering will be extensively read. They cannot be perused without great advantage to the cause of humanity and religion. By their means India will be better known to our churches, and the sympathy that must be excited, and the holy energy that will be aroused, shall produce results which will gladden the hearts of the honored writers. To them, we are aware, we are scarcely doing justice in dwelling so much upon one subject; but they will excuse the circumstance that results from their own thrilling statements and forcible appeals. To return, however, to Mr. Massie.

The second volume contains interesting notes of a missionary tour, which we pass over, here, as Mr. Campbell's book is much the fullest in this kind of missionary information. Under the title of 'Indo-Christian sects,' we have a chapter of varied interest on the introduction of nominal Christianity, by means of Romish emissaries.

ries, the commencement of the Lutheran missions, with an account of Mr. Rhennius, and the painful controversy in which he was involved; the Christians of St. Thome, Armenian church, &c.

The nominal Christianity which popish zeal has produced is a powerful barrier to the spread of pure and undefiled religion. But this is only one branch of the upas-tree of church and state. 'Indian papists can still give themselves to such miserable expedients as were at first resorted to for the propagation of their system; and it is ascertained that they will cheerfully admit the votaries of heathen abomination to a share in their own miserable pageantry, and can the next day actually return the sad compliment, by a willing and kindred homage to the dead and sordid gods of old Indian idolatry.' Melancholy as this is we are tempted to ask, however, by how many degrees is it worse than the homage paid by Protestant authorities to the misshapen gods of India? Nay, are not the Protestant upholders of idolatrous superstition by far the guiltier party?

We had marked several other passages, especially on the condition of woman, and from the chapter on Education and the English, but are compelled to take our leave of Mr. Massie, which we do with heartiest thanks for the service he has rendered to the cause of religion by his able work. It is written in a pleasing style; the cultivated mind and the amiable heart are conspicuous on every page; and the Christian and the philanthropist will, after perusing it, gird up his loins with sevenfold energy on behalf of the millions of the east. To the directors of our missionary societies we especially commend it.

Many chapters in Mr. Campbell's volume are on the same subjects as Mr. Massie has handled, and yet it has its own distinctive value. It is a more thoroughly missionary volume, and is one of thrilling interest. In addition to articles on the political degeneracy of India, its mythology, its sanguinary superstition, on the effects of idolatry, on caste, on the literature of India, and on the British power in that country, with two valuable chapters on government support of idolatry, from which we have already extracted, there are twelve or fourteen chapters on the different missions, which we take the liberty of saying British Christians must read, and read at once. The London Missionary Society must make their hundred thousand pounds the starting point for yet holier efforts; and the Baptists, we speak advisedly, must seriously ask themselves whether it becomes those who led the way to eastern enterprise, to lag behind the Christian bodies whom they stimulated to the field. 'Speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward.' The mighty difficulties which have accumulated in India, and have presented such various opposition to the introduction and spread of pure and undefiled religion, may encourage us to be the more boldly confident of approaching con-

quest. What though on India the prince of darkness has his most determined and convulsive grasp? the politic and wily foe guards most resolutely what is most valuable, and which, if lost, would be the most deplored. And if on Indian plains his throne is set—if that be the capital of his mundane territories—the spot where Satan's seat is—if the servants of the crucified one there find their most inveterate and raging foes—why, they know the field of most honorable toil, where the proudest trophies are to be won.

‘In India there is a system venerable for its antiquity; imposing in its ritual and ceremonies; boasting of its sages, philosophers, its heroes and its martyrs; enshrined in vedas, shasters, and pooranas; renowned for the splendor of its temples, the grandeur of its festivals, and the exploits of its deities; binding its hundreds of millions together by the chains of caste, as with fetters of iron, and sending forth upon the whole world, from its bulwarks and its strongholds, a scowl of defiance.’—Campbell, p. 47.

‘But the system is not now what it once was. External calamities have long since shorn it of its glory; and internal feuds and divisions have weakened its power and dried up its resources. It cannot boast any longer of the fervor of youth, nor the vigor of manhood. It is hoary with years; decrepitude has seized upon its limbs; decay and consumption have settled upon its vitals; and its age, instead of rendering it venerable, has prepared it for dissolution, and for the oblivion of the tomb. Dissatisfied with its promises, and groaning under its exactions, its votaries are ready to throw off its yoke. They now pant for a better system, and thirst for a greater salvation. With universal desire and expectation, they turn to the tenth incarnation as the day-star of their hopes.’—Ib. p. 50.

‘Let the pilgrim-tax be abolished; let the connexion which has hitherto subsisted between the state and idolatry be dissolved; leave Hindooism to its own endowments, its resources, and the support of its admirers; and what shall we speedily hear? That the idols have perished out of the land; that they have no food to eat, no water to drink, and no raiment to wear; that they have no light to illuminate their darkness; that they have no votaries to present to them offerings and sacrifices; that they have no devotees to throw themselves under the wheels of their murderous cars.’—Ib. p. 54.

In referring to the influence which the prevalence of superstition gives to impostors of every kind, Mr. C. mentions some circumstances which we are quite as unable as himself to explain, and which remind us of the Egyptian magician whom Mr. Lane describes.

‘Individuals, said to be possessed of the devil, obtain incredible power, and will run for miles, with a stone upon their heads, which would require many men to lift; and the land is full of jugglers,

necromancers, and alchymists, who, in your presence, will perform most incredible feats. I was one of those who are disposed to laugh at such deeds, and regard them as childish manœuvres. But a juggler called one day at my house, and I asked him to show me some of his exploits. After making ribbons, and performing some very curious deeds, he asked me if I had a rupee. 'Yes,' I replied, 'I have one;' and taking a rupee out of my pocket, I showed it to him in my hand. He was sitting on the carpet, and I was standing not less than five or six feet from him. 'Well, sir,' said he, 'you are sure you have it?' 'O yes,' I replied, and I held it with a firmer grasp. 'Now,' said he, 'open your hand.' I did so, very cautiously, lest any trick should be played; but all my caution was vain; my hand drew back with an involuntary shudder; there leaped out of it a small snake, and sprang about on the floor. The juggler laid hold of the reptile, and consigned it to his bag, and afterwards took my rupee out of his bag and gave it me. How this was done was always a mystery to me.'—Campbell, p. 60.

But we must refer the reader to the work itself, for it is impossible to notice the various topics on which we had intended to touch; and we are much mistaken if a large amount of prayer, praise, and effort on behalf of India, will not be the result of Mr. Campbell's labors to interest the churches of Britain.

Mr. Macbair, who travelled through Egypt, Syria, Western Africa, &c., is a missionary of the Wesleyan Society, but ventures to speak more boldly on some subjects than many of his brethren have done; and we honor him accordingly.

After his wanderings, and difficulties, and privations in Egypt and Syria, and in detailing which Mr. Macbair has written agreeably, we are somewhat amused to find that he was so expeditiously dispatched again on foreign service. The eighth chapter thus commences:

'The Methodists are a people who cannot bear to see any one unemployed; nor have they much idea of their ministers ever being so exhausted with labor as to require a protracted relaxation of their toils. Hence it will not appear astonishing that, just three days after my landing in London, a proposal was made to me to go out to Western Africa on a special mission.'—p. 201.

There he labored, not without success, though in the midst of trials; some of the greatest of which were caused by the British authorities. There is a manliness and an out-spokenness about the author which we are pleased with; deeply regretting as we do that any men bearing the honored name of Christians, and Christian ministers or missionaries, should ever meanly connive at oppression and wrong, and doff their own manhood in the presence of those who tyrannize over the defenceless. We thank Mr. Macbair for the stand he made on more than one occasion for

right principles, when the guilty parties were the servants of our own government. He has furnished many illustrations of biblical subjects, which occurred to his observant eye during his various wanderings. He had the honor, too, to prepare a Mandingo Grammar, thus facilitating the success of those who shall enter into his labors; and to give to the people among whom he was chiefly located the gospel of the grace of God in their native tongue. We should have been pleased to afford the reader some specimens of his style, but have already outstepped the proper limits of this paper, and beg to offer him an apology for taking our leave of him thus abruptly, but, *necessitas non habet legem*.

Art. V. *On the Relation between the Holy Scriptures and some Parts of Geological Science.* By J. P. SMITH, D.D., F.G.S., &c. London: Jackson and Walford.

PALMAM QUI MERUIT FERAT. There can be no reasonable doubt that the appearance of this volume will mark a distinct era in biblical interpretation. It will, moreover, be no questionable honor that such a work should have emanated from one of the nonconformist schools of theology—a work which in addition to the estimable author's former contributions to the treasures of sacred science, cannot fail to establish for his name a place in the very first rank of scientific and philosophical theologians. The preliminary step to such an award has already been taken by the unexpected enrolment of his name among the members of the most learned society in Great Britain—a distinction to which nothing could have raised him but the pre-eminent ability with which the present work is executed. It appears, however, not improbable, that the due honor will not at once, nor, indeed, for a considerable period, be universally conceded to him or his work by the Christian public. Though previously he may have ranked high both as a divine and a scholar, with almost all parties, yet we can readily conceive that this performance will prove highly displeasing to some who have admitted the merit of his former services to the cause of evangelical religion; while to the ignorant and malevolent who have viewed his previous honors with jealousy, it will be eagerly seized as furnishing a tempting occasion for heaping opprobrium both on him, and on the whole orthodox dissenting body to which he belongs. The bigots of all parties will be disturbed like bats or owls, and the bigots of some parties will distil their venom like serpents and toads. The note of alarm and of hostility was sounded while the lectures were in

delivery, and now they are published, we shall soon see the gnats settling on the bull's horn, and the snakes biting at the file. So be it. For all such we have but one adage—*'prius autem intellige, et deinde ad opus accede'*—you had better read before you write, and hear before you speak.

There is, however, a far larger class of sincere and intelligent Christians to whom the views here expounded will, at the first announcement, appear so new and startling, so like a revolutionizing of all the long established opinions they have entertained upon these subjects, that though they may not go the length of suspecting Dr. Smith of treachery to the cause of the Bible, or of wilfully undermining their faith in revelation, may yet very reasonably beg leave to pause, and require further time as well as further evidence, before they can settle down into the confirmed opinion that his interpretations are correct. The jealousy they will feel for the credit of revelation, the honor of Moses, and their own cherished views of his writings, will have to undergo a revising process, in which superficial interpretation must be separated from real intention and proper signification. They will moreover require to be convinced, not simply by the lights of geological science, that the interpretation to which they have become familiar was mistaken, but that it was, to say the least, hasty and superficial, unwarranted by analogy of style in other passages relating to physical phenomena; and that a sounder philology, a deeper consideration of the diction and style of the sacred documents would have dictated an interpretation less at variance with the discoveries which recent times have supplied. In order to arrive at entire satisfaction, it will be necessary that they should perceive not simply that the new interpretation may, by some stretch or license, be imposed upon the dubious passages, nor that such proposed interpretation is imperatively demanded to prevent collision between the respective authorities of science and revelation, but that the new view of those passages is at least quite as consistent with the general discoveries of revelation, and quite as much in harmony with the uniform and peculiar style of the sacred writer, and with the unusual circumstances of the people for whom he wrote, as the established interpretation which they are required to discard. As much as this, but no more, we think they are entitled to expect. If in addition it can be shown, that the new interpretation is really more in accordance with the admitted principles of criticism than the old one, this will not only place the new views on a vantage ground, but will undoubtedly with all such intelligent and candid persons at once decide the question. It may then possibly appear, that the amended exposition really supplies a reinforcement of the evidence of revelation, by showing that the true sense of the document had been misapprehended through the false light thrown upon it by a superficial

philosophy, but that, when viewed by clearer light, it is found more in harmony with the real facts of the physical universe than its best friends had ever supposed. It will then in the end come out, that our ignorance or haste had led us to overlook what should have been the true interpretation, which, indeed, could hardly have been imagined in the darkness with which all the facts of the case have long been enveloped, but which when discerned by the aid which science has now lent, proves really a deeper knowledge than had been previously attributed to Moses, and such a harmony with universal truth, as no impostor could possibly have attained. Should the case, then, turn out as we have supposed—that so ancient a document, so long misinterpreted through the immaturity of human knowledge brought to its elucidation, does after all contain within it an anticipative, though long latent, adaptation to the advanced state of science in the present age, then this discovery cannot but greatly enhance the evidence of inspiration, preclude suspicion of imposture, and help to place the Christian believer on higher and firmer grounds than he has ever before occupied.

It is not for us to require at once the implicit confidence of any of our readers, or of the Christian public, in the bare averment that so much as this can be shown, or that the greater part of this has actually been accomplished by the learned author of the present work. We feel too much reverence for the cause of sacred truth, too much sympathy with that holy jealousy for the interests of revealed religion which pervades the class whom we now address, to ask them to subscribe without the utmost caution, without the fullest and clearest conviction, either to the hypothetical statement we have now made, or to the views which Dr. Smith has so ably developed. It would be unreasonable to expect them to outstep their convictions, and unmanly in them to do so, if they were required. All that we would venture to ask of them,—all that the cause of truth demands is, that they should calmly and without prejudice read and weigh the evidence—first against the old and popular theory of the world, and next in favor of the new interpretation of Moses proposed by Dr. Smith, bearing in mind that this is recommended, first, by its congruity with the condescending and accommodated style of the entire revelation of God, and is further, so far as we know, the only exposition of the sacred record that can by any possibility be brought to coalesce with the undoubted facts and established principles of geological science.

Before we enter upon our further intention of presenting to our readers some specimens of the principal matters treated in Dr. Smith's Lectures, which will call for their calm and candid, perhaps self-denying and self-correcting exercise of judgment, we must be allowed a little further extension of our prefatory remarks.

We crave this exercise of the reader's patience with the view of bringing him to the inquiry, in a state of mind somewhat prepared for the important function of deciding for himself in so complicated and profound a subject. We propose to remind him of a few general facts and principles which ought not on such a subject to be overlooked, and which if kept in mind may facilitate his judgment, or at least guard him against inconsideration, precipitancy, and a partial view of the manifold bearings of the entire question. The subject is confessedly a great one. It involves the highest interests of truth, religion, and the human race. It deserves, and perhaps will require of most, not only hours of serious prayerful attention, but probably weeks and months of protracted consideration; and from all who would thoroughly understand it, much more reading than will suffice for the single volume now before us.

I. The intelligent Christian reader is respectfully reminded that all the principles and facts that go to constitute the entire body of universal truth are of the same essential nature, are all perfectly harmonized in the mind of the One Infinite Being,—are so in themselves, and can never be otherwise contemplated by us without implying imperfection and mistake somewhere. 'The voices of nature, and reason, and revelation are in harmony. We want only that facts be correctly stated, and that the words of Scripture be interpreted upon the principles of just philology; and we fear not the result. We will search out the objects of science, 'the works of the Lord,' by the most careful investigation and vigorous induction, as if we had never heard of his word: and we will apply ourselves to the study of his word, with the strictest observance of the rules of interpretation, just as if we knew nothing of the physical world. We do not, therefore, speak of bringing about a *conciliation* between these two lines of fact and doctrine; for we anticipate that it already exists.'—Smith, p. 169. Undoubtedly, if we perceive a dissonance among the truths of separate departments, we do them wrong, we dishonor the Author of nature or the Author of revelation. In this state our minds cannot be at rest. Our reason feels itself outraged; our mental calm is disturbed. Every intelligent believer in revelation admits the principle, that there can really be no discrepancy between the true philosophy of nature and the true theology of the Scriptures. He may be conscious of such discrepancy in his knowledge, and utterly unable to remove it: he may adhere to the general proposition of the abstract and absolute harmony of truth, both as to its parts among themselves, and as to the perfect knowledge of the divine Mind, but he may be conscious of something that disturbs that harmony in his mind, and he may very naturally and fairly endeavor to escape from the painful dilemma into which he thus falls, by attributing the felt

discrepancy to his own ignorance, or imperfection, or unconscious error: but what we principally wish to enforce is, that this is a painful, anxious state of mind, from which it is his duty and his interest to free himself as speedily and as effectually as he can. A real lover of truth will not remain in error, nor retain in his reason a contradiction, one moment longer than is unavoidable—just because such a state is annoying and painful to his understanding. An escape from it is sought as an emancipation from intellectual bondage—as freedom and happiness to the rational soul. He will, therefore, use the *salvo* of his own ignorance, or mistake as sparingly as possible, because at best it leaves the mind uneasy and disturbed—it tells it to be quiet in ignorance which it hates, or in error which it despises: it may very properly say, ‘wait for the discovery of the whole truth’—but still the mind retains its abhorrence of ignorance and its aspirations after complete knowledge. The best, therefore, that this *salvo* can effect is to keep the active and inquiring faculties in a state of uneasy neutrality. Every rational being feels that it is a law of his nature to prefer knowledge to ignorance, just as it is a corresponding law to prefer light to darkness; hence to the same nature perfect knowledge is better than partial, and as far as he can aspire to this, he does it necessarily, as one of the highest means of happiness. Every mind may not have the patience, or the industry, or the resolution to follow out its love of knowledge, but all will do so who have felt it to be their happiness to aspire after it, and an essential condition to their enjoyment in it, that its several departments shall appear in harmony—or at least supply no contradictions and discrepancies to disturb their reason or offend their love of truth.

2. If the mind becomes unsettled and dissatisfied under a sense of positive disagreement among perceived truths in general, then this disquietude rises higher in proportion to the magnitude of the interests that lie at stake, or the importance of the principles that may be implicated. If the disagreement necessarily presupposes that error has been admitted into our reasonings, or imposition practised upon our senses, and if those errors may by any possibility be found pregnant with injury to ourselves, then our disquietude increases proportionably. If the highest interests are hereby brought into jeopardy, the mind endures a painful conflict to which it perceives no termination or relief. To suffer any of these positive discrepancies between our religion and our philosophy to burthen the mind by remaining unsolved, supposing any reasonable solution is proposed, or that by dint of any mental labor we might reach one, is not only injurious to the honor of our religion, but a wanton exposure of our own minds to the temptation of abandoning, in some gloomy hour, all our religious feelings and opinions as mere fallacies and delusions. The ad-

versary of our souls will not fail, sooner or later, to ply us with the difficulties alleged against our religion. He will entrench himself in the proposition, that it is far more likely we have been deceived in the reasoning which has led us to credit the Bible, than in the direct and unquestionable evidence of our senses. Hence we may be driven on towards a state of infidelity, or become bewildered in doubt and scepticism.

3. If we could reconcile ourselves to hold the truth of a religion which seems to be contradicted by science, and, at the same time, admit the truths of a science which is directly contradicted by our religion, or resort to a middle course by holding the facts of science in doubt and abeyance, suspecting that the fallacy must lie there, and resort to this rotten kind of truce for the sake of retaining that which we feel to be infinitely more precious and important to us than all the human sciences put together; yet we ought not to expect that others, who feel less powerfully and tenderly the claims of religion, will do the same. How could we ask those who are not yet convinced of the importance of religion, or of the paramount claims of revelation, to listen to our arguments on its behalf, when, in the first step of the argument, we require them to abandon conclusions which are as clearly established in their view as their own existence. It would evidently be next to impossible for religion to make good its way in the face of such difficulties, especially when it is further considered that every human heart is naturally disinclined to accept the humbling truths of christianity, and predisposed to catch at every excuse for unbelief. To be indifferent to the supposed discrepancies, were to be indifferent to the success of the gospel, and the everlasting happiness of mankind; to give up the honor and truth of the Bible; place ourselves in the predicament of believing absurdities; and leave a resistless weapon in the hands of infidelity. The world as well as the philosophers must be expected to repudiate the authority of a professed revelation which seems to contradict the combined evidence of sense and reason. They will not listen for a moment to a teacher that sets aside natural facts, or aims to persuade them by his dogmatic authority that things are not as they perceive them to be. For their sake, therefore, it is supremely desirable that the disagreements should be fully and fearlessly examined, and, if possible, so adjusted, as to leave the respective authorities of revelation and science unimpeachable in their respective departments. In fact, for any man to believe contrary to the evidence of his senses, is at once to annul the rights of reason, concede the principle of the popish dogma of transubstantiation, and sap the very foundation of revealed religion.

Hence it behoves the zealous friends of the Bible to be cautious how they use against the discoveries of science an argument that may be turned against themselves with the most disastrous effect.

If any of these should be induced to question the policy or prudence of those christian advocates who are laboring to reconcile revelation and science; and if they think that the reasonings of the geologists may be safely and honestly disregarded or despised, they may ere long come to discover, that their own reasoning against physical facts has a wider range than they suspected, and that he who will not believe the evidence of his senses, cannot consistently believe in miracles, which all have a double dependence; first on the veracity of the senses, and then upon the veracity of human testimony.

4. It is further incumbent upon the intelligent christian to bear in mind, that the questions involved in the recent discoveries of geology, have no reference to the peculiar province of revelation, and no bearing whatever on the theology of the Bible. All its religious doctrines remain untouched. Neither Judaism as instituted by Moses, nor christianity as taught in the New Testament, can be affected in any of their moral principles or religious truths by the full admission of all that the science of geology requires us to believe. We are not, therefore, in the same position as we should have been if those discoveries had clashed with our religious sentiments concerning the trinity, the person of the Saviour, the atonement, or divine influence. In these, or similar cases, the christian might justly have alleged that his views upon these subjects were so implicated with the entire texture and paramount authority of revelation, that the evidence to convince him that these were untrue must at the same time subvert his entire faith in revelation; and that, therefore, his only resource was to hold the reasonings and facts of geology in abeyance, till he should either discover some way of reconciling the differences, or till the alleged facts had corrected themselves. But the case is in no respect thus. Not one point of any moment to what is strictly and properly religion, is at stake; not one essential truth of christianity requires to be accommodated. Let the geologist be allowed to be right in all that he affirms to be established by physical facts, and not the slightest alteration will be necessary in any man's religious opinions or feelings. The whole question is one of interpretation, and not of the text; of interpretation, too, involving passages which allude exclusively to physical facts; and, whether the popular sense of those passages be ultimately adhered to, or the amended one adopted in its place, our religion will remain just as it was before. Let no one therefore imagine for a moment that, in contending for the old gloss, he is contending for important truth, the authority of Scripture, or the inspiration of Moses. Let it not be feared that, in relinquishing the popular notions, we are either invalidating the authority of an inspired author, or abandoning truths essential to our salvation, or the integrity of the book of God. It is very probable that many ill-informed and uninformed

persons, more rash than wise, may endeavor to persuade the religious public that, in resolutely standing by the old opinions, they are really valiant for 'the faith once delivered to the saints;' and no doubt we shall hear trumpeted forth heroic professions of the readiness of some persons to endure martyrdom, rather than abandon to their enemies what they will sanctify with the name of truth, revelation, and God. But we intreat our readers to observe that this is all vain and irrelevant boasting; a mere empty and officious zeal, originating not in that teachableness, candor, and humility, which christianity enjoins, but in the presumptuous arrogance of the veriest dogmatism, upholding the infallibility, not of the text, but of human interpretation. It will be quite time enough for any man to show his zeal for the Lord, and talk of martyrdom, when the integrity or authority of the inspired records is impugned.

5. The alleged discoveries of geology neither trench in the slightest degree upon the evidence of the divine attributes derived from the works of creation, nor lessen the miraculous and morally punitive character of that particular catastrophe which is represented as a testimony against antediluvian transgression. The admissions required of us bear no analogy to the neological system of the rationalists which aims to exclude miracle altogether, and reduce the momentous facts of the Old and New Testament to a *mythic* representation of natural causes and effects. But, if any thing, we should maintain that the recent discoveries tend to augment our sense of the grandeur and incomprehensibleness of the Deity; to reinforce incalculably the reasonings of natural theology; and altogether to expand our conceptions of that glorious Being, who appears in the pages of revelation alone commencing that one out of many series of operations, which involved the existence and the interests of his noblest creature, and there alone affording the information essential to the well-being of that race, for whose use the world had been prepared by so protracted and complicated a process. The views of the divine nature thus elicited by the recent discoveries, prove, therefore, a clear accession to our knowledge of the divine power, wisdom, and beneficence, since they demonstrate creations initiative, though still analogous, and importing unity of design; and, while in some respects inferior, yet strictly inceptive, and introductory to that which was designed to be the grand, essential, and perfect *commissariat* of the human population. It is to be observed, that without such a lengthened preparation, the earth could not in many respects have afforded a suitable habitation for the human race. It is perfectly true, that the Creator might have found *succedanea* for human necessities, in some other methods of provision, or he might have made the race altogether free from such necessities, or he might have supplied them without means, by a succession of miraculous

interpositions. But, supposing man to be purposely constituted, as we see he is, then the plan which involved a foresight of his wants and of his progressive improvement—a plan which provided all that was requisite to meet those wants, and stimulate that improvement, through a series of preparatory creations, each affording illustration of wisdom and power in a gradually ascending scale through interminable ages, becomes a far more elaborate proof of the wisdom of God, as well as of the eternity of his nature, than is furnished upon the hypothesis of the entire creation of the universe only six thousand years back. The counsel which has been pursuing its object through millions of ages, supplies a much more sublime proof of the infinite perfection of God, than one of which we have no demonstrative or sensible evidence prior to the last stage of its development in the production of all things, as was supposed, at the same period when it produced its noblest work. Moreover, the stepping-stones supplied by geology, back into the mysteries of the immeasurable ages past, may prove highly subservient to the cause of revealed religion in demonstrating, by a kind of physical approximation to the idea of an eternity past, the possibility and probability of an eternity to come. If it has required such a boundless course of ages to prepare the earth for man's abode, he can be destined to no ephemeral existence; his nature must have sublime and solemn destinies stretching beyond the date of his present life, and connecting him by a far closer and more sacred link with the yet unaccomplished counsels of the Deity; just as the past counsels and all the objects of them appear to be connected with those which are at present fulfilling.

6. It now only remains for us to observe, that it will ill become those persons who have paid but a slight attention to geology, or none at all, to doubt or dispute the conclusions of men of the most consummate skill, most patient research, and most unquestionable reverence for the authority of revelation. The cause of inspired truth can suffer only in the hands of rash, dogmatic, and ill-informed men. And, if its would-be advocates possess not the requisite science for judging in the present case, it will better beseech them to be still, and wait the growth of their own knowledge, than, by an overweening conceit of their ability, to pronounce upon one of the most complicated and mysterious questions that ever fell under their notice, and thus to injure the cause they are zealous to defend. They may be assured that, by such a procedure, they will do little else but afford learned unbelievers an opportunity for affirming upon the testimony of christians themselves, that the religion of the Bible can never be reconciled with the obvious testimony of the senses, and the undoubted verities of science. Many rash persons will no doubt appear upon both sides of this argument. Already the superficial infidel, on the one hand, has assumed a haughty tone of scientific defiance, and has eagerly as-

serted that Moses cannot be right, and ought not to be believed; while on the other, not a few christian men, more forward than cautious, and more zealous than wise, have affirmed the infallibility of the vulgar interpretation, in contemptuous scorn of the senses and the reasonings of the most patient and trustworthy of the philosophers. We earnestly entreat all such persons to consider that the evidence could not have been slight, nor the induction narrow and hasty, which could have induced eminent christian philosophers to relinquish opinions which they had long and tenaciously—we might almost say devoutly, held, and to read their frank and full recantation before the world. Only let the objectors show themselves as patient, industrious, and candid as those whose opinions they may despise and decry; let them exhibit as much acquaintance with the subject, as much deference to the obvious lessons of truth, and they will then be entitled to be heard in abatement or refutation of opinions with which they may find occasion to be offended. What we supremely deprecate, in the discussion of this important subject, is the rashness of intemperate ignorance, dogmatic zeal for religion, and uncandid, unchristian suspicion of the philosophers. Nothing will be gained to the interest of christianity by arrogant assumptions of infallibility, contemptuous scorn of natural science, or personal defamation of its votaries. The cause of truth is one; its interests extend not only to time, but to eternity, past and yet future. They are universal and independent of us all. That cause has nothing to fear from the lapse of time, or the progress of science; nothing to gain by haste or concealment. Let none of its advocates discredit or wound it by violence or bad temper, and it will ere long amply vindicate itself.

We feel that an apology would here have been due for these protracted preliminary observations, had we been dealing with any common subject, or about to bring before our readers an ordinary work. The singularity of the case must plead our excuse, and the inexpressible importance of the volume in hand be accepted as our justification.

We now come, without further delay, to Dr. Smith himself, and must endeavor to present as compressed a view as we can of this highly interesting volume. We conceive we cannot do better, in the first place, than extract the Doctor's own summary of those difficulties which the conclusions of geology have arrayed against the received interpretation of the Mosaic record. The reader is reminded that the following is a mere statement of the conclusions without any of the reasonings that sustain them. It is quite impossible to present here any condensed view of the arguments. Those who wish for satisfaction upon these points must carefully consult the work itself.

‘ In the second and third of these lectures, several facts were brought forward tending to place the natural history of the earth in a position of variance with the generally received belief concerning the DELUGE, which is so important a part of the scriptural history of the human race. As I cannot expect that these facts can be distinctly recollected, it will be proper to recapitulate them in the briefest manner consistent with making them intelligible.

‘ That enumeration brought before us the following statements ; that, through the whole process of stratification, from the most ancient to the latest, the mineral character of each stratum proves the existence of contemporaneous dry land, as well as of depressed areas filled with water ; that the indubitable relics of once animated creatures, in a great variety of species, from the earlier formations to the latest, penetrate through one or more of the superincumbent strata, so that there never occur continuous beds of mineral deposit, which fail to be connected (if I may use the phrase, dovetailed) with each other ; giving the result, that, from the unspeakably remote point of time in which vestiges of living nature first occur, there never was a period when life was extinct upon the surface of the globe ; or, we might more properly say, when living creatures did not abundantly exist ; that the vast masses of the rolled pebbles and stones of all sizes, which have been spread over large districts, especially of this northern hemisphere, belong not to any one transient flood, but to different eras of time, at great respective distances ; some of the earliest never having been overflowed by a succeeding flood, and each for itself indicating the action of water through very long periods of time, in contradistinction to the idea of a deluge so brief as that of Noah, enduring but little more than three hundred days ; that the cones of cinder and other volcanic products, over a considerable district in the south of France, are accompanied by evidences of an antiquity reaching much farther back than the date of Noah's deluge ; and that these cones of loose, light materials have never been exposed to the action of a rush, or any even moderate force of water, or they would have been inevitably washed away. These geological facts stand thus powerfully in the way of our admitting that there ever was a *universal* deluge. Some other circumstances, also, were briefly alluded to, belonging to other departments of natural science. One of them was the impossibility of either the vegetable or the animal creations having all proceeded from one spot as a centre of ancestry ; but that the surface of the earth, distributed into several distinct regions, each of which has its appropriate and exclusive tenantry, both vegetable and animal. It was also remarked how utterly impossible it would be for the inhabitants of many of those regions to have migrated to various others, or even to exist in them, if by an instantaneous miracle they were transported thither. We adverted to the difficulty, arising from the quantity of water requisite to cover the entire globe, and to overflow the highest mountains, which would be an addition to the present ocean of eight times its actual quantity. For both the production and subsequent removal of this body of water, we can imagine no cause but the miraculous intervention of Omnipotence ; whereas the narrative in the book of Genesis assigns two natural

causes, raised to an extraordinary degree of action. Notice was also taken of the animals preserved with Noah in the ark ; the number of existing species, so far exceeding what the commentators on the Bible have taken into their calculation ; the very different kinds of receptacle which would be necessary ; the amount of food ; the necessity of ventilation, and the clearing out of the stables or dens ; the provision for reptiles and insects ; the fact that some fish and shell animals cannot live in salt water, and others not in fresh. The difficulty also was mentioned, if we suppose, that the resting-place of the ark was the Mount Ararat, pointed out by tradition, of conceiving how the eight human persons, and their accompanying animals, could descend adown the precipitous cliffs ; a difficulty which amounts to an impossibility, unless we call in the aid of a divine power operating in the way of miracle.

‘ Another circumstance was adduced as proving that the deluge of Noah was not absolutely universal ; the existence of trees in the equatorial regions of Africa and South America, which, by the known method of ascertaining the age of exogenous trees, are shown to be of an antiquity which goes further back than to the date of the deluge. What was said in that lecture, and will be advanced in the note on this subject, renders it needless to add any more.

‘ I may also remind my auditors that the opinion which ascribes to the deluge the vast amount of animal and vegetable remains found in all parts of the earth, is flagrantly inconsistent with a correct attention to the circumstances in which they occur.

‘ From many of these considerations, the probability of a universal contemporaneous flood is, to say the least, rendered very small ; but their united force appears to me decisive of the negative to this question.

‘ I cannot doubt but that some alarm and anxiety may be produced in the minds of many, by the hearing of these statements. They will be thought to be in direct contradiction to the sacred narrative ; and we cannot justify to ourselves any twisting and wresting of that narrative in order to bring it into an apparent accordance with the doctrines of human philosophy. But let my friends dismiss their fears. The author of nature and the author of revelation is the same. He cannot be at variance with himself. The book of his works and the book of his word cannot be contradictory. On the one hand, we find certain appearances in the kingdoms of nature, which stand upon various and independent grounds of sensible proof ; and, on the other hand, are declarations of scripture which seem to be irreconcilable with those appearances which are indeed ascertained facts. But we are sure that truth is immutable ; and that one truth can never contradict another. Different parts of its vast empire may and do lie far asunder ; and the intermediate portions may be covered with more or less of obscurity ; but they are under the same sceptre, and it is of itself antecedently certain, that the facts of nature, and the laws that govern them, are in perfect unison with every other part of the will of Him that made them. There are declarations of scripture which seem thus to oppose facts, of which we have the same kind of sensible evidence

that we have of the letters and words of the sacred volume ; and which we understand by the same intellectual faculties by which we apprehend the sense of that volume. Now, those appearances—facts I must call them—have been scrutinized with the utmost jealousy and rigor ; and they stand impregnable ; their evidence is made brighter by every assault. We must then turn to the other side of our research ; we must admit the probability that we have not rightly interpreted these portions of scripture. We must retrace our steps ; let us resort to this renewed examination in the great instance before us.'—pp. 299—304.

We must now proceed to lay before our readers some specimens from that deeply-interesting lecture, in which the author proceeds to illustrate the principles of philology, by which the whole of the sacred records, and particularly the earliest and simplest should be interpreted ; and which principles, though admitted and applied in reference to most other portions of the sacred book, have been overlooked in the interpretation of the first part of the book of Genesis.

'1. All the methods of representation that may be employed to convey notions of the Deity to the mind of man, must, of absolute necessity, be designed to produce only analogical or comparative ideas ; and must be adapted to that end. If we may so speak, they are *pictures*, which stand *in the place* of spiritual realities ; but the realities themselves belong to the INACCESSIBLE LIGHT.

'The materials of such comparison must be different, according to the varying states of mental improvement in which different minds are found. Let it, for a moment, be supposed, that it had pleased the Divine Majesty to grant an immediate revelation of his authority and his grace to the Athenians, in the age of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, and for their use ; we may reverentially believe that, in such a case, the communication would have been expressed in the terms and phrases to which they had habituated themselves, and moulded upon a system of references to the natural scenery around them, to their modes of action in social life, and to their current notions upon all other subjects. Not only would the diction have been pure Greek, but the figures, the allusions, and the illustrations of whatever kind, would also have been Attic. The Hebraized style which was adapted to the people of Israel, would have failed to convey just sentiments to the men of Greece ; for, though it would not have been absolutely unintelligible, the collateral ideas would have been misapprehended, false bye notions would have insinuated themselves, and the principal sentiments, to inculcate which was the object of the whole process, would have been grievously distorted. Or, had the favor of a positive revelation been given to the ancient Britons, or to the Aborigines of America, it would have been clothed in another dress of representative imagery, and described in other and very different forms of speech.

'Yet, in any such case, and under every variety that could occur, the enucleating of the representations, if it were fairly accomplished, would

bring out *the same* truths ; and the practical benefit to piety and virtue, resulting from each mode, for the classes of mankind to which each was adapted, would be *the same*, if improved with equal fidelity.

‘3. The earliest revelations which God was pleased to grant to man, whether in the state of pristine integrity, or in that into which by transgression he fell, must have been conveyed by representations of the character which we have described ; they must have been composed of materials derived from the *knowledge* possessed by the subjects of those revelations, and the *relations* under which they stood to beings and circumstances around them.

‘This position is only the correlate of saying that the revelation must have been given and transmitted in the language spoken or written by those to whom the message of God came ; or to say all, in one word, it must have been *intelligible*. If any objection be raised against the supposition, that, by this showing, the revelation would be clothed in the imagery of gross and sensible objects, with the imperfections and misconceptions under which those objects appeared to men possessing only the rude ideas of a primeval state of society, a corresponding objection would lie against the revelation being conveyed in a rude and imperfect language. Then, to be consistent, it would be requisite further to maintain, that the terms and style of the revelation must have been in the most pure and abstract kind of phrase that human diction could afford, the most nearly approaching to the spirituality of the Divine Nature, and the majesty of eternal things ; and this would be equivalent to saying, that it ought to have anticipated by many centuries the progress of man as an intellectual and social being ; that it ought to have been written, not in the language of shepherds and herdsmen, but in that of moral philosophers and rhetoricians ; not in Hebrew, but in Greek or English.

It would plainly also follow that, if the proscription, as to the forms of thought and diction, which such presumptions demand as befitting a revelation from heaven, were admitted, a revelation so expressed would have been *unintelligible* to ‘the ages and generations’ of primitive time, and to the generality of mankind in all times.’

‘II. We are then led to another observation, which will bring us to the *principle* proposed as the solution of the Biblical question, with relation not to geology only, but to human science universally. It is this :

‘The revelations, successively given to the fathers of mankind, to the ancestors of the Israelitish nation, and to particular persons of that nation, ‘at sundry times and in divers manners,’ were conveyed in *representations to the senses*, chiefly that of *sight*, and in *words descriptive* of those representations.

‘To the slightest rational consideration, it must be evident that the first human pair were created in the perfection of their bodily organs and mental powers ; and that they were immediately endowed by their Creator with a full use of these organs and faculties, and with a competent measure of the habits thence resulting : that use and those habits, which all subsequent human beings have had to acquire by the slow process of parental training and imitative acquisition. Had these

qualifications not been thus infused into them, or made instinctive, at the very commencement of their being, they could not have preserved their own lives, nor have rendered to their heavenly Sovereign any religious homage. The German philosopher Fichte, gave the decision of reason, when he asked the question and returned the answer, 'Who educated the first human pair?' 'A Spirit took them under his care; as is laid down in an ancient, venerable, original document; which contains the deepest and the sublimest wisdom, and presents results to which all philosophy must at last return.' The certainty of such an order of things nature and reason declare: the actual reality of it we learn from the word of revelation—'God created man in his own image;' and the Christian Scriptures show us in what that image consisted; 'in knowledge, righteousness, and true holiness.' That knowledge must have been sufficient for all the purposes of a pure and happy existence, and as the principle of a progressive development which would undoubtedly have been most glorious, had man abode in his pristine honor. The Deity was pleased to manifest himself to the newly formed and favored creatures, in ways of the most condescending goodness and wisdom; assuming probably a splendid human form, and communing with them, in ways and to an extent of the most wise and benevolent purposes, beyond what we can know. But it is not an unreasonable conjecture, that the archives of the human race which open the writings of Moses, are fragments of those communings. The narration of that which took place before man existed to have witnessed it, could have been only from a supernal communication. Yet, to suppose that a scientific knowledge was then imparted, or any knowledge beyond what was necessary for the present welfare of the newly created rational beings, their intellectual progress, and the preservation of their unalloyed but not expanded holiness; has no ground of possibility as a subject of conjecture, nor the shadow of evidence as a matter of fact. After the mournful apostasy of man, the condescending Deity was pleased still to grant manifestations of himself; for the increase of moral knowledge, the counteraction of growing wickedness, and the providing of facts and evidences to be recorded as a basis for ulterior revelations. In many of those manifestations, the appearance of a human figure is expressly declared: thus suggesting reason to believe that those appearances were in the person of 'the word,' who in the fulness of the time, became 'flesh,' that is assumed the human nature, 'and dwelt among us;' 'who is over all, God blessed for ever.' In this manner, a foundation was laid for the succession of divine communications, to guide wandering man into the ways of peace.

'In comparison with the glory of the gospel, 'the grace and truth by Jesus Christ,' this was a very imperfect proceeding: but it was a rudiment of the moral system which was to be the excelling glory of a future age; and, with all its imperfections, it was as high and spiritual as *the condition of human nature was able to bear*. It was adapted to a state of intellectual and spiritual infancy; and from it was derived *that character* of the Old Testament revelations, which it is our present object to consider more closely.

‘That character consisted in representing God by the figurative attributes of the human form with its organs and functions, and the human mind with its affections and passions.

‘In the majestic language of the Church of England, ‘there is but one living and true God ; everlasting, without body, parts, or passions.’ And does any man need to be told that this article is the echo of the clearest Scripture testimony in the Old Testament as well as in the New ? ‘Do not I fill heaven and earth ? saith the Lord,—whither shall I flee from thy presence ?—God is a Spirit :—the King eternal, immortal, invisible ;—who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto ; whom no man hath seen, nor can see.’

‘Yet it pleased this BEING to bring down himself, not to the comprehension, for that is impossible, but to the apprehensive capacity of untutored men, by representations drawn from the circumstances of men, and from other natural objects.’—pp. 247—254.

After this statement of the general principle, Dr. Smith proceeds to illustrate its application to a great variety of passages in which the Divine Being is represented by terms which are obviously accommodated to human apprehension, and then passes on to a third branch of his subject, relating to the manner in which this characteristic style of the Scriptures speaks of *natural phenomena* (1) with regard to the figure of the earth, its relation to the heavenly bodies, and its motion or immobility : (2) concerning atmospheric phenomena : (3) with respect to the animal system, or their ideas of anatomy. This is a highly valuable and important part of the work, but our limits restrain us. It is summed up in the following manner.

‘An observation now arises to our view, which must, I cannot but think, force itself with irresistible conviction upon any impartial mind. If it was not unworthy of the Adorable Majesty of God to permit himself to be described in terms *infinitely beneath* Him, and which require our watchfulness and pious care, lest we take up with conceptions far remote from the spirituality of the Divine nature, and the purity of Christian worship ; MUCH MORE may it be regarded as consonant with the honor of his word, that its references to *natural objects* should be, in the character of thought and expression, *such as comported with the knowledge of the age in which they were delivered*. Again : the completed manifestations of the Divine Will in the New Testament raise us to a justness and purity concerning the ‘things of God,’ far superior to that which the ministration of Moses and the prophets could supply. The one was obscure, tinged with the spirit of bondage, only a preparatory and temporary system : but the other is the ‘ministration of righteousness,’ in comparison with which the former ‘had no glory.’ We stand, therefore, upon safe ground, and are fully warranted by divine authority, to *translate* the language

of the Old Testament upon physical subjects, into such modern expressions as shall be *agreeable to the reality* of the things spoken of.'

—pp. 276, 277.

In the second part of the seventh lecture, the Doctor enters upon the elucidation of the Mosaic narrative of the creation. We would gladly cite the whole of this admirable portion, but it must be carefully read in order to apprehend its force and importance. We can only present a detached passage, which may enable the reader to form some idea of the whole, as an extended comment and explanation of these remarkable records. In treating of the term *Earth* as used by Moses, the author observes,

'Considering all the evidence of the case, I can find no reason against our considering the word (earth), subsequently to the first verse, and throughout the whole description of the six days, as designed to express *the part of our world which God was adapting for the dwelling of man and the animals connected with him*. Of the spheroidal figure of the earth, it is evident that the Hebrews had not the most distant conception. The passages which have been quoted, and many others abundantly convince me that it never entered into the purpose of revelation to teach mere geographical facts, or any other kind of physical knowledge.

'I must profess, then, my conviction that we are not obliged by the terms made use of to extend the narrative of the six days to a wider application than this, *a description, in expressions adapted to the capacities and ideas of mankind in the earliest ages, of a series of operations, by which the Being of omnipotent wisdom and goodness adjusted and furnished the earth generally*, but as the particular subject under consideration here, a PORTION of its surface, for most glorious purposes; in which a newly formed creature should be the object of those manifestations of the authority and grace of the Most High, which shall to eternity show forth his perfections above all other methods of their display.

'This portion of the earth I conceive to have been a large part of Asia, lying between the Caucasian ridge, the Caspian Sea, and Turkey, in the north, the Persian and Indian seas on the south, and the high mountain ridges which run at considerable distances in the eastern and western flank. I venture to think that man, as first created, and for many ages afterwards, did not extend his race beyond these limits, and, therefore, had no connexion with the extreme east, the Indian and Pacific clusters of islands, Africa, Europe, and America; in which regions we have ocular demonstration that animal and vegetable creatures had existed, to a vast amount, uninterruptedly through periods past of indescribable duration.

'This region was first, by atmospheric and geological causes of previous operation under the will of the Almighty, brought into a condition of superficial ruin, or some kind of general disorder. With reverence I propose the supposition, that this state was produced by

the subsidence of the region, of which the immediate cause might be the same that we know has often operated to work a similar effect in various districts upon the earth's surface; namely, that which is probably the cause of earthquakes—a vast movement of the igneous fluid mass below. Extreme darkness has been often known to accompany such phenomena. This is the meaning of the two words rendered 'without form and void.' Those words in the Hebrew Bible are elsewhere used to describe ruined cities, wild wastes of desert land, and figuratively, any thing that is *empty, unsubstantial, or useless*.

'The sacred record presents to us the district described as overflowed with water, and its atmosphere so turbid that extreme gloominess prevailed. 'Darkness was upon the face of the deep,' the 'waters' mentioned just before. Both this deluge, from the flowing in of a sea or rivers, and the darkness, would be the effect of an extensive subsidence. The Hebrew word does not necessarily mean the absolute privation of light: it is used in relation to various circumstances of partial darkness: and we know that conditions of the atmosphere have locally happened, in ancient and in recent times, in which the noon-day has become dark as an ordinary night. The divine power acted through the laws of gravity and molecular attraction; and where requisite, in an immediate, extraordinary, or miraculous manner. The atmosphere over the region became so far cleared as to be pervious to light, though not yet perfectly transparent. In this process, the watery vapour collected into floating masses, the clouds; which, as we have seen, the ancient Hebrews expressed by the phrase 'waters above the firmament.' Elevations of land took place, by upheaving igneous force; and consequently the waters flowed into the lower parts, producing lakes, and probably the Caspian Sea, which manifestly belonged to the very region. The elevated land was now clothed with vegetation instantly created. By the fourth day, the atmosphere over this district had become pellucid, and had there been a human eye to have beheld, the brightness of the sun would have been seen, and the other heavenly bodies after the sun was set. Animals were produced by immediate creation, in this succession; the inhabitants of the waters, birds, and land animals; all in the full vigor of their natures. No mention is made of the thousands of tribes of insects, molluscous creatures, and animalcula; whose number, we know, transcends calculation. It is generally assumed by commentators, that they are included in the 'things that creep.' But this very phrase supplies an illustration of the Scripture style, as condescending to the limited knowledge and the simple associations of comparatively uncultivated men. Last of all, God formed his noblest earthly creature: 'in the image of God created HE him,' in the command of physical faculties, the possession of intellect, a dominion over the lower creation, and the noblest enjoyment of all, the image of the divine holiness.

'No rational objection can lie against the statement, that the Creator was pleased to distribute these works through the space of six natural days; instead of effecting the whole by an instantaneous volition. It is sufficient for us to know that the Infinite Wisdom chose this method of proceeding; we are sure then that it was the best. But

we may very reasonably suppose, that the gradual character of the process furnished valuable instruction to superior creatures, and filled them with devout rapture, when 'the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy.' Nor can we be insensible to the lessons to which the Scriptures apply this part of the counsels of Jehovah, for the religious, and not overlooking the physical, benefit of mankind in all following time.

'The condescending principle of the narrative is manifested, in a striking manner, by the description of the fourth day. The sun is mentioned as the *greatest luminary*, the moon as the *next* in magnitude and importance, and the other shining orbs are grouped together as if they formed, even when all combined, the *least* object of consideration. The heavenly bodies are represented, not as being at that time created, but 'made,' *constituted* or *appointed*, to be 'luminaries,' for such is the meaning of the word used: and their design is specified with an exactitude very observable: to afford light, and to furnish standards for the divisions of time, the operations of agriculture, and religious or other observances. Had it been the purpose of revelation to give a view of creation according to the physical reality, can we imagine that no reference would have been made to superior creatures, of whom the subsequent Scriptures say so much, under an appellation which designates only their work and office,—angels? Or that no mention would occur of the planets and their satellites as distinct from the fixed stars? And that all the notice taken of the astral system would lie in two words, 'and the stars?'—if not our earth merely, but the entire solar system, were to be this instant blotted out of existence, it would be no more missed in the aspect of the universe—EXCEPT TO THE GLORIOUS CREATOR'S EYE—than a grain of sand blown away from the sea shore! Yet it is most evident, that any person, not acquainted with the true system of the world, would, after the most careful study of this portion of the Bible, rest in the conclusions, that our earth is, not in moral importance only, but in physical magnitude, by far the greatest of the Creator's works; and that the entire furniture of the heavens is solely a provision for our convenience and comfort.

'It is a further evidence that the style of this primitive document was framed in conformity to the phraseology of simple men in unpolished times, that the successive processes are described in a child-like conversation form. 'God said let there be light; let there be a firmament;—let the earth bring forth;—let us make man;' using in each instance the same formula of introduction and then of narrating the effect. Now, is there a man who seriously believes that the Infinite Spirit exercised vocal organs, the supposition of which would imply a corporeal structure; or that he willed the effect of voice without those organs, creating the impulses upon an elastic medium which, had there been an animal ear to have received the impression, would have duly impinged upon it, and produced the effect of articulate words; as 'God spake all the words of the law' from the top of Sinai, so as to be heard and understood by a million and a half of people? To my judgment, this circumstance carries with it the force of demonstration.'

—pp. 284—292.

In a second particular the author proceeds to consider the difficulty in reference to the prevalence of death before the fall of man. This he shows must necessarily have been a previous arrangement in the animal economy. But we must pass over this part of the subject, to close our extracts with one brief citation more, which will give the reader an idea of our author's view of the Scripture Deluge, premising, however, that it follows the statement or summary of objections (previously given by us), to the popular notion of its universality.

‘Let us now take the seat of the antediluvian population to have been in Central Asia, in which a large district even in the present day, lies considerably below the level of the sea. It must not be forgotten, that six weeks of continued rain would not give an amount of water forty times that which fell on the first or subsequent day : for evaporation would be continually carrying up the water, to be condensed, and to fall again ; so that the same mass of water would return many times. If, then, in addition to the tremendous rain, we suppose an elevation of the bed of the Persian and Indian seas, or a subsidence of the inhabited land toward the south, we shall have sufficient causes, in the hand of Almighty justice, for submerging the district, covering its hills, and destroying all living beings within its limits, except those whom divine mercy preserved in the ark. The draining off of the waters would be effected by a return of the bed of the sea to a lower level, or by the elevation of some tracts of land, which would leave channels and slopes for the larger part of the water to flow back into the Indian Ocean, while the lower part remained a great lake or an inland sea, the Caspian.’—pp, 312, 313.

We fear that we have conveyed even by these lengthened extracts, a very imperfect and inadequate idea of this important volume. All we can say to our readers in conclusion is, peruse it carefully for yourselves. Take it up uninfluenced by prejudice, and let it weigh with you only so far as it brings truth and reason to illustrate the sacred record. It appears to us that the Dr. has carefully viewed the subject on all sides, that he has fortified his argument at every point, and that the principles he has laid down are not to be shaken. The reader may not, with ourselves, think every part of the subject so fully handled as seemed desirable, and may even wish that some parts had been spared for the sake of allowing fuller scope to others. Those who happen not to be well read in geological discoveries, will wish that the author had more fully exhibited the reasons, drawn from the various strata of the earth, for giving it a date so much prior to the vulgar era. We could willingly have spared the whole of the last lecture for the sake of receiving from the Doctor's pen a more ample statement of the reasonings of geologists upon this subject. As it is, however, he deserves the best thanks of the religious public for the very

masterly manner in which he has vindicated the text of Scripture from any real discrepancy with the science of geology. We have ourselves derived much information and satisfaction from the work, and cannot but augur for it a complete triumph both over the dogmatic assumptions of the ignorant on the side of Christianity, and the superficial on the side of infidelity.

Art. VI. *A History of British Reptiles*. By THOMAS BELL, F.R.S., F.L.S. Illustrated by a Woodcut of each Species, with some of the Varieties, and numerous Vignettes. 8vo. pp. xxii., 142. London: John Van Voorst.

PROFESSOR Bell's reputation as an elegant and scientific naturalist will induce a large class of readers to welcome the publication which we now briefly introduce to our friends. It combines, to an extent rarely equalled, the qualities which please with those which instruct, and is alike distinguished by a chaste style, a benevolent spirit, and the clearness and accuracy of true science. We have rarely closed a work which has left upon our minds so strong an impression of the amiable character of the genuine philosopher, or of the attractive nature of the pursuits to which he invites us. The study of natural history possesses all the charms of an innocent recreation, with the superadded advantages of an intelligent and instructive employment, and we shall be glad to find that the efforts of Mr. Bell and his distinguished coadjutors are successful in directing the attention of our countrymen to this most interesting branch of science.

The department of Natural History to which the present work is devoted, though somewhat limited in its range, comprises a mass of facts strikingly illustrative of the interminable variety and admirable order which pervade all departments of the divine workmanship. The discrepancies of structure among the different groups comprising the class treated of, 'particularly in the whole constitution of the skeleton, in the organs of motion, in the integuments, and many other important portions of their organization,' are more numerous and striking than are to be found in any other of the families into which the living inhabitants of our world are divided. The singular character of these discrepancies is shown in the following extract from our author's *Introduction*.

'If, with Cuvier, and most other Zoologists, we include the amphibious group in this class, these discrepancies are still more remarkable; but even restricting our view to the Reptilia proper, they are suffi-

ciently striking ; and a slight glance at the general structure of the orders will exhibit them in a very obvious point of view.

‘ In the Chelonians, or Tortoises, and in the Ophidians, or Serpent tribe, the extremes of these different types of organization are exhibited. In the common European land Tortoise, *Testudo Græca*, which may be selected as a familiar example of the former group, the whole structure of the skeleton is brought into the most compact and solid state. The bones of the cranium and face are consolidated into a single and immoveable case, with scarcely the vestige of sutures showing the separation of the different centres of ossification upon which it has been formed ; there are no teeth, but the margins of the upper and of the lower jaw are covered by a horny beak, the latter being received into a groove of the former, and thus closing like the lid of a box ; then the whole of the dorsal vertebræ, the ribs, the bones representing the sterno-costal cartilages, and the broad united sternum, are altogether compacted into a case of bone, without any separation between the parts of which it is composed. The anterior and posterior extremities are fully developed, but instead of being placed exterior to the thorax, they are all of them contained within its cavity, and even the bones of the feet are only extended beyond the horny box which protects them, when the animal is employing them in progression.

‘ What a contrast to this solid and compact structure is exhibited by the form of the lithe and tortuous Serpent ! Most of the bones of the head are permanently separate ; those of the upper and lower jaw particularly being capable of great extension ; there are perfect teeth ; the vertebræ, which are extremely numerous, are susceptible of the most extensive lateral motion ; and the ribs, slender and but slightly attached, compensate for the absence of both anterior and posterior extremities, by being themselves the instruments of the animal's progression. It is unnecessary here to enter more particularly into the detail of these curious diversities of structure ; enough has been said to show how far these two groups are separated from each other in their general organization ; and it needs scarcely to be added that the diversity of their habits is not less remarkable.’—pp. viii.—x.

Professor Bell, in conformity with the custom of all previous British Faunists, has included in his work two species of ‘stray Turtles’ (the Hawk's Bill and the Leathery Turtle), which have accidentally been found on our coasts, although, as he correctly remarks, ‘neither the one nor the other can claim to be considered as indigenous.’ The following account of the manner in which this singular animal deposits its eggs, will be read with pleasure even by those who have previously investigated the subject.

‘ The annual resort of the various species of marine Turtles to the land for the purpose of depositing their eggs, is one of the most interesting points of their history. On the Island of Ascension, on the shores of the Gulf of Florida, and in many other places, innumerable

multitudes of Turtles arrive at a period of the year differing somewhat in the different species, but in all during the early part of the summer. They resort to their favorite breeding-places from various parts, some even from a great distance ; and there is reason to believe that each individual returns year after year to the same place. The following details of this operation, from the graphic pen of my friend Audubon, are so interesting that I offer no apology for inserting them without mutilation.

‘ On first nearing the shore, and mostly on fine calm moonlight nights, the Turtle raises her head above the water, being still distant thirty or forty yards from the beach, looks around her, and attentively examines the objects on shore. Should she observe nothing likely to disturb her intended operations, she emits a loud hissing sound, by which such of her many enemies as are accustomed to it are startled, and so are apt to remove to another place, although unseen by her. Should she hear any noise, or perceive any indications of danger, she instantly sinks, and goes off to a considerable distance ; but should every thing be quiet, she advances slowly towards the beach, crawls over it, her head raised to the full stretch of her neck, and when she has reached a place fitted for her purpose, she gazes all around in silence. Finding ‘ all well,’ she proceeds to form a hole in the sand, which she effects by removing it from *under* her body with her *hind* flappers, scooping it out with so much dexterity that the sides seldom if ever fall in. The sand is raised alternately with each flapper, as with a large ladle, until it has accumulated behind her, when, supporting herself with her head and fore part on the ground fronting her body, she, with a spring from each flapper, sends the sand around her, scattering it to the distance of several feet. In this manner the whole is dug to the depth of eighteen inches, or sometimes more than two feet. This labor I have seen performed in the short period of nine minutes. The eggs are then dropped one by one, and disposed in regular layers, to the number of a hundred and fifty, or sometimes nearly two hundred. The whole time spent in this part of the operation may be about twenty minutes. She now scrapes the loose sand back over the eggs, and so levels and smooths the surface, that few persons on seeing the spot could imagine any thing had been done to it. This accomplished to her mind, she retreats to the water with all possible dispatch, leaving the hatching of the eggs to the heat of the sand. When a Turtle, a Loggerhead for example, is in the act of dropping her eggs, she will not move although one should go up to her, or even seat himself on her back ; for it seems at this moment she finds it necessary to proceed at all events, and is unable to intermit her labor. The moment it is finished, however, off she starts ; nor would it then be possible for one, unless he were as strong as a Hercules, to turn her over and secure her.’—pp. 4, 5.

Such of our readers as have been fortunate enough to spend any portion of their time in the country, and whose tastes incline them to prefer the secluded nook or the barren heath to the dwellings of men, must frequently have had their attention rivetted to

the noiseless and wiry movements of the Ringed, or Common Snake. This is one of the most beautiful members of the reptile family, and is perfectly innocuous, though treated with much undeserved cruelty. It grows to the length of three feet, and occasionally even to four, is easily tamed, and may be made to distinguish those who caress and feed it. Mr. Bell informs us that he 'had one many years since, which knew me from all other persons; and, when let out of his box, would immediately come to me, and crawl under the sleeve of my coat, where he was fond of lying perfectly still, and enjoying the warmth. He was accustomed to come to my hand for a draught of milk every morning at breakfast, which he always did of his own accord; but he would fly from strangers, and hiss if they meddled with him.' The following extract will sufficiently exhibit the habits of this reptile.

'It inhabits all our woods, and heaths, and hedgerows, especially in the neighbourhood of water, feeding upon young birds, and even eggs, or mice, and other small quadrupeds, and lizards; but, in preference to all these, upon frogs. I have seen one of these voracious creatures in pursuit of a frog, which appeared perfectly conscious of its approaching fate, leaping with less and less power as it found its situation more hopeless, and the crisis of its fate approaching, and uttering its peculiar weak cry with more than usual shrillness, until at length it was seized by its pursuer by the hinder leg, and gradually devoured. The manner in which the Snake takes its prey is very curious. If it be a frog, it generally seizes it by the hinder leg, because it is usually taken in pursuit. As soon as this takes place, the frog, in most instances, ceases to make any struggle or attempt to escape. The whole body and the legs are stretched out, as it were, convulsively, and the Snake gradually draws in first the leg he has seized, and afterwards the rest of the animal, portion after portion, by means of the peculiar mechanism of the jaws, so admirably adapted for this purpose. It must be recollected that in the true Serpents, unlike the group to which the Slow-worm belongs, the bones of which the upper and lower jaw are composed, are perfectly and loosely distinct from each other, and connected only by ligaments. By this arrangement not only is great dilatability of the mouth obtained, which is also aided by a peculiarity in the structure of the joint, but one side of either jaw is capable of acting independently of the other; and as the animal is gradually taking its prey, one side of the jaws is extended forwards, and the two rows of teeth of the upper, and the single row of the lower, fixed into the integument; then the opposite side of the jaws is stretched forwards in the same manner, and so on alternately until the victim is thus gradually and often slowly conveyed into the œsophagus, and by the muscular action of this part it is swallowed. When a frog is in the progress of being swallowed in this manner, as soon as the Snake's jaws have reached the body, the other hinder leg becomes turned forwards; and as the body gradually disappears, the three legs and the

head are seen standing forwards out of the Snake's mouth in a very singular manner. Should the Snake, however, have taken the frog by the middle of the body, it invariably turns it by several movements of the jaws, until the head is directed towards the throat of the Snake, and it is then swallowed head foremost. This process will remind all who have witnessed the curious sight of the great Boa taking its food, of the manner in which that enormous reptile effects its deglutition, after it has, by the pressure of its mighty sides, killed and crushed the bones of its victim.

'The scene above described is one which I have often witnessed ; and I once saw two Snakes seize upon the same hapless frog. As this circumstance is not unlikely to happen in their native state, it may not be out of place to mention the result. On placing a frog in a large box, in which were several Snakes, one of the latter instantly seized it by one of the hinder legs, and immediately afterwards another of the Snakes took forcible possession of the fore-leg of the opposite side. Each continued its inroads upon the poor frog's limb and body until at length the upper jaws of the two Snakes met, and one of them in the course of its progress slightly bit the jaw of the other ; this was retaliated, though evidently without any hostile feeling ; but after one or two such accidents, the most powerful of the Snakes commenced shaking the other, which still had hold of the frog, with great violence, from side to side, against the sides of the box. After a few moments' rest, the other returned the attack, and at length the one which had last seized the frog, having a less firm hold, was shaken off, and the victor swallowed the prey in quiet. No sooner was this curious contest over than I put another frog into the box, which was at once seized and swallowed by the unsuccessful combatant.

'The frog is generally alive not only during the process of deglutition, but even after it has passed into the stomach. I once saw a very small one, which had been swallowed by a large Snake in my possession, leap again out of the mouth of the latter, which happened to gape, as they frequently do immediately after taking food. And on another occasion, I heard a frog distinctly utter its peculiar cry several minutes after it had been swallowed by the Snake. In taking lizards or birds, it always, as far as my own observation goes, swallows the head foremost. After it has taken its food, it usually remains inactive for many days, not usually seeking a fresh meal until the former one is digested. So exclusively are all Serpents animal feeders, that they not only will not take, but cannot digest, vegetable matters. This is shown in a very striking manner by a fact which I have witnessed in the case of a Boa which was in the menagerie formerly kept at the Tower. This creature was accustomed to have fowls given to it ; and after this food was digested, and the remains were voided, any corn which might happen to have been in the crop of the fowl when it was taken, was always found mingled with the excrement, but wholly unchanged.'—pp. 49—50.

The Ringed Snake is, as we have already stated, perfectly innocuous, but not so the Common Viper, which is the only

poisonous reptile indigenous to our country. In Scotland, this species is more numerous than the Common Snake, and is found in most parts of England and Wales, inhabiting heaths, dry woods, and banks. It has never been seen in Ireland, but is extensively distributed from the northern parts of Russia to the south of Italy and Spain.

‘It is everywhere deservedly feared,’ remarks Professor Bell, ‘on account of its venom, which, although less virulent than that of many other species, is yet sufficiently so to produce severe symptoms, and sometimes, in the warmer climates, even fatal results. In this country I have never seen a case which terminated in death, nor have I been able to trace to an authentic source any of the numerous reports of such a termination, which have at various times been confidently promulgated. At the same time the symptoms are frequently so threatening, that I cannot but conclude that in very hot weather, and when not only the reptile is in full activity and power, but the constitution of the victim in a state of great irritability and diminished power, a bite from the Common Viper would very probably prove fatal. The remedies usually employed are the external application of oil, and the internal administration of ammonia.’

‘The poisonous fluid is perfectly innocuous when swallowed. Dr. Mead, and others, have made this experiment, and never experienced the slightest ill effects from it. It is, however, clear that there would be danger in swallowing it, were any part of the mouth, the throat, or the œsophagus, in a state of ulceration, or having an abraded surface.’
—pp. 59, 60.

Our author has furnished a minute account of the ‘beautiful apparatus’ that renders the Viper so unwelcome an intruder on our path, which though somewhat exceeding our limits, we are tempted to transcribe for the information of our readers.

‘On each side of the upper jaw, instead of the outer row of teeth which are found in non-venomous Serpents, there exist two or three or more, long, curved, and tubular teeth, the first of which is larger than the others, and is attached to a small moveable bone, articulated to the maxillary bone, and moved by a muscular apparatus, by which the animal has the power of erecting it. In a state of rest the fang reclines backwards along the margin of the jaw, and is covered by a fold of skin; but when about to be called into use, it is erected by means of a small muscle, and brought to stand perpendicular to the bone. The tooth itself is as it were perforated by a tube, the mode of formation of which was not understood until it was demonstrated by Mr. Smith in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1818. This tube, although completely enclosed, excepting at the basal and apical orifices, must be considered as formed merely by the closing round of a groove in the external part of the tooth itself, and hence not in any way connected with the inner cavity of the tooth, in which exists the pulp

upon which the substance of the tooth is formed. The base of the tooth, and consequently the basal orifice of the tube just described, is embedded in a sac, into which the poison is poured from the ducts of the glandular structure by which it is secreted, and which is believed to represent the parotid gland of the higher vertebrata. The poisonous fluid itself is inodorous, tasteless, and of a yellow color. It is secreted in greater quantity, and its qualities are more virulent in a high temperature than in cold. Its secretion may be greatly increased by local irritation; as is evidenced by the following fact. Some years since I was dissecting very carefully and minutely the poison apparatus of a large Rattlesnake, which had been dead for some hours; the head had been taken off immediately after death; yet as I continued my dissection the yellow poison continued to be secreted so fast as to require to be occasionally dried off with a bit of rag or sponge; I believe that there could not have been less altogether than six or eight drops at the least.

‘When the animal inflicts the wound, the pressure on the tooth forces a small drop of the poison through the tube; it passes through the external orifice, which is situated on the concave side of the curved tooth, and is in the form of a slit. The manner in which the blow is inflicted is as follows. The animal generally throws itself in the first place into a coil more or less close, and the anterior part of the body is raised. The neck is bent somewhat abruptly backwards, and the head fixed almost horizontally. In an instant the head is, as it were, launched by a sudden effort towards the object of its anger, and the erected tooth struck into it, and withdrawn with the velocity of thought. It is found by experiment that the effect of subsequent wounds is greatly diminished either by the diminution of the quantity of venom, or by some deterioration of its strength; so that if a venomous Serpent be made repeatedly to inflict wounds, without allowing sufficiently long intervals for it to recover its powers, each successive bite becomes less and less effective. A gentleman of my acquaintance had some years since received a living Rattlesnake from America. Intending to try the effects of its bite upon some rats, he introduced one of these animals into the cage with the Serpent; it immediately struck the rat, which died in two minutes. Another rat was then placed in the cage; it ran to the part of the cage farthest from the Serpent, uttering cries of distress. The Snake did not immediately attack it; but after about half an hour, and on being irritated, it struck the rat, which did not exhibit any symptoms of being poisoned for several minutes, and died at twenty minutes after the bite. A third, and remarkably large rat, was then introduced into the cage. It exhibited no signs of terror at its dangerous companion, which, on its part, appeared to take no notice of the rat. After watching for the rest of the evening, my friend retired, leaving the serpent and the rat together; and on rising early the next morning to ascertain the fate of his two heterogeneous prisoners, he found the Snake dead, and the muscular part of its back eaten by the rat. I do not remember at what time of the year this circumstance took place, but I believe it was not during very hot weather.’—pp. 60—62.

We must hasten to close, yet before doing so, we are tempted to dwell briefly on our author's account of the Common Toad, the general form of which he represents as 'certainly far from 'prepossessing.' Most persons will probably agree with us in opinion, that much stronger terms might have been employed, but the benevolence of Professor Bell's disposition embraces the whole range of animated nature. We confess that we have no sympathy with the man who can read such a passage as the following without a kindling of heart towards its author.

'Few animals have ever suffered more undeserved persecution as the victims of an absurd and ignorant prejudice than the Toad. Condemned by common consent as a disgusting, odious, and venomous reptile, the proverbial emblem of all that is malicious and hateful in the human character, it is placed under universal ban, and treated as an outlaw both by man and boy throughout the country. Should I be able, by the following history of its habits and manners, to show that it is, on the contrary, highly useful, perfectly harmless, inoffensive, and even timid, and susceptible of no inconsiderable degree of discriminating attachment to those who treat it with kindness, it is hoped that some few individuals may be thus rescued from those barbarous acts of cruelty to which the species is almost everywhere subjected. The mistaken notions to which I have alluded are indeed pardonable in the ignorant and uneducated; but that one professing to be an observer and an admirer of the works of nature, should have suffered his prejudices to dictate such a violent and false philippic against this harmless creature, as the following passage from Pennant, is not easily to be accounted for, and scarcely to be forgiven:—

'He calls it 'The most deformed and hideous of all animals; the body broad; the back flat, and covered with a pimply dusky hide; the belly large, swagging, and swelling out; the legs short; its pace laborious and crawling; its retreat gloomy and filthy: in short, its general appearance is such as to strike with disgust and horror.' The whole of his account teems with expressions of the same kind; and it would be difficult to find a more striking instance of the influence of prejudice in the mind of any professed admirer of nature, or a more displeasing example of partial misrepresentation. The true lover of nature, on the contrary, who, in the simplicity and singleness of heart which always belong to that character, seeks even in the less attractive of her works for those proofs of wisdom and beneficence by which they are all characterized, will rather find in the very peculiarities which excited the spleen and disgust of our celebrated drawing room zoologist, only fresh indications of the same discriminating wisdom, and the same never-failing, though often, to the superficial observer, mysterious and veiled beneficence.'—pp. 105—107.

Most of our readers have heard marvellous stories of living toads having been found enclosed in the substance of a tree, or imbedded in a solid rock. The following is our author's view of

these tales, which we commend to the attention of such of our readers as are credulous in these matters.

‘ The stories of toads being found in the very substance of the wood of a tree, and in the midst of a solid and hard rock, are too numerous, and too generally asserted and believed, to be passed over here, although I have to regret that, after many and urgent inquiries, and the examination of several asserted cases of that kind, I am unable to throw any light upon this doubtful and mysterious question. Some years since I had a Toad sent me by a person of the highest credit, with the assurance that it had been taken alive out of a mass of indurated clay, of great depth, and that it had died immediately after being exposed to the air. But this case, like most, if not all, others of the same kind, is liable to the objection that the Toad most probably fell into the hollow where the men were at work, and was taken up by them in ignorance of the mode in which it had come there. Numerous experiments have been made in order to try whether the Toads would die on being artificially imbedded in masses of clay, of plaster of Paris, in wooden boxes surrounded by plaster, and in other similar circumstances; but hitherto all have failed, although in some of them the animals have certainly lived for a much longer period than could have been expected, prolonged sometimes to many months, or even to between one and two years. Upon the whole, it appears to me that whilst the many concurrent assertions of credible persons, who declare themselves to have been witnesses of the emancipation of imprisoned Toads, forbids us hastily to refuse our assent, or at least to deny the possibility of such a circumstance, it must be confessed that we still want better and more cautious evidence, to authorize our implicit belief in these asserted facts. The truth probably is, that a Toad may have lain hid in the hollow of a tree, during perhaps a whole autumn and winter, and found itself on the return of spring so far enclosed within its hiding place as to be unable to escape. As this animal requires but little respiration, and consequently but little food to support life, especially when in a state of entire inactivity, the smallest opening would be sufficient to admit the requisite passage of air, and even the occasional ingress of a small insect; and afterwards, when the tree was cut up, the Toad may have been found enclosed, and the opening may have escaped detection. To believe that a Toad enclosed within a mass of clay, or other similar substance, shall exist wholly without air or food, for hundreds of years, and at length be liberated alive, and capable of crawling, on the breaking up of the matrix, now become a solid rock, is certainly a demand upon our credulity which few would be ready to answer.’

—pp. 111, 112.

We take our leave of Mr. Bell with a respectful and warm-hearted acknowledgment of the pleasure we have derived from his work, and with an announcement—which we are gratified to make—of his being engaged in the preparation of a kindred work which will still further increase his claims on the grateful respect of his

countrymen. It is scarcely necessary to remark that the woodcuts with which the volume is illustrated, are executed in the highest style of the art, and that the whole 'getting up' of the work is in admirable keeping with them.

Art. VII. *Speech of the Right Hon. the Earl of Ciarendon, in the House of Lords, on the Affairs of Spain.* Ridgway. 1839. Mirror of Parliament.

A PHILOSOPHIC mind, in looking over the map of history, will feel its attention very frequently arrested by the events which were developed in former times within the limits of the Peninsula; as well as by the policy consequent upon them. Those limits have been settled by nature; and that policy, proceeding as it did from a combination of unvarying circumstances, seemed almost as little liable to change. Recent revolutions have now concentrated public attention upon Spain: and a rapid glance at her domestic annals will furnish us with the causes resulting in her past and present state. The survey, moreover, of her conduct towards other nations will afford us many useful lessons.

On the breaking up of the western empire, the Alemanni, a pastoral and illiterate horde, possessing no other property than their cattle and their arms, passed the Pyrenees, preceded or accompanied by the Vandals. Behind them, however, were the more powerful Visigoths, who gradually forced the latter to content themselves with the country on the Bætis, and the former to seek refuge in Galicia and the hilly regions of Portugal. Yet little advantage accrued from the Visigothic sceptre. Its supporters, indeed, were legislators, as well as warriors: but they stamped upon the people whom they governed an impress of barbarism and superstition, which ages have not been able to efface. Successive convulsions disgraced their elective throne; offering at once both the means and the temptation for exciting an unpolished aristocracy to every excess in turbulence and licentiousness. Their punishments for crimes were of the most savage nature: and the absurdities of the Theodosian Code, together with the ancient customs of Germany, came to be all blended into a singular amalgamation of refinement and meanness,—of brutalism and bravery. In the twelfth year of the eighth century, Tarif, a Moorish general, crossed the straits between Africa and Andalusia,—erecting upon his rock Gebel-Tar, or Gibraltar,

the crescent of Mahomet. In the subsequent battle of Xeres fell Roderick the last of the Goths: yet it would seem as though the national assemblies, the courts of judicature, and the general manners of the vanquished, underwent very little internal change. Instead of a king they had the caliph. Islam usurped an ascendancy over the consciences of many, who had been before merely nominal Christians. Toleration was even granted to the religion of the gospel,—although upon the onerous condition of silence. A tenth part of their revenue, as a land-tax or tribute, in those towns or provinces which capitulated; and a fifth, or twenty per cent in those which resisted, was paid to the Commander of the Faithful. Numerous new cities were built upon the sites of old ones destroyed. In other respects, matters went forward as formerly, for a long period; in one series after another of sanguinary insurrections, royal or baronial oppressions, and demonstrations of religious animosity, interspersed with noisy martyrdoms.

Meanwhile the Asturian caverns of our Lady of Cabadonga afforded a retreat to the gallant Pelayo and a thousand of his warriors. Thither, as to the stronghold of Adullam, ‘fled every one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented.’ A nucleus of heroes rolled and expanded among the mountains; until from the obscure hamlet of Gijon on the sea coast, these fugitives spread themselves over Orviedo and Leon; in which latter city, after a contest of two hundred years, Ordungo II. restored the royal, or as some of his successors styled it, an imperial authority. It is not a little interesting to observe, that within the Pyrenees and the ocean, and from the Bay of Biscay to the Mediterranean, there occurred a complete representation in miniature of the struggle between Christianity and Islamism. That wonderful and talismanic empire, which blazed with alternate splendors at Damascus, Coufa, Balsora, and Bagdat,—at Cairo, Tunis, Fez, and Morocco,—in India and Asia Minor, as well as in the deserts at the foot of Mount Atlas;—this gorgeous dominion, in all its arabesque and barbaric yet transitory grandeur, might be admired, studied, and understood, in the glories of Cordova, Toledo, and Seville; in the palaces, gardens, mosques, water-works, schools, and manufactories, on the banks of the Tagus, the Xenil, or the Guadalquiver; in the fiery ferocity of the Berber as contrasted with the iron perseverance of Spanish feudalism; in the revival and diffusion of taste and learning; as well as in those mingled elements of character and circumstance, which gradually dissolved the charm, and achieved the discomfiture of the koran. Their political and religious enemies acted in the way of external compression upon the valour and genius of the Christians. Wearisome and wasting wars whetted, and hardened, and concentrated whatever virtues they were beginning to acquire in their adver-

sity. The age of chivalry and the Cid, as well as a succession of local crusades, threw out on a scale of less magnitude than their great Syrian anti-types, yet with remarkable vividness and accuracy, whatever advantages or disadvantages such phenomena have been able to display. Marvellous exertions of heroism illustrated the extending states of Spanish christendom. To Orviedo and Leon were added, before the close of the thirteenth century, Biscay and Navarre, the Castiles, Aragon, Valencia, Murcia, and Portugal. Witnessing at the same time arts more perfect than their own, among their competitors, they caught the flame of desire, and were taught by them to appreciate a number of the conveniences and embellishments of life. In one word, the worshippers of the cross had felt compelled to combat for their very existence; and that feeling worked out a variety of beneficial consequences. The invaders gradually recoiled from an undaunted and undying opposition. From having been the spoilers, they softened down into the civilizers of their fellow creatures. An almighty alchemy transmuted their scimetars into gold. They imparted to millions what their barbarian predecessors had failed to render, perhaps because they reigned not long enough to acquire a relish for them,—the light of a reflected literature and considerable taste for science. It is to be regretted that so much dross alloyed the precious metal: but still more have we to lament, that in the revolution of ages, the once injured became the injurers, and turned the tables in a spirit of anti-christian vengeance upon the descendants of their Moorish conquerors.

Throughout the long conflict of nearly eight centuries, may be seen the progress of hierarchical pretension, enlarging and indurating, until the chains of priestcraft were not merely forged for, but really rivetted into the elements of every Spanish mind. During the same period, feudalism was covering the land with castles, and peopling them with bony robbers. These were the nobles of their day, who swore by Jesus rather than Mahomet, that the weak were made to be the meat and amusement of the strong; for that to avow the contrary was a sin political and ecclesiastical, which never could be forgiven! By such men, and such means, was the country rescued from the Miramamolin. Barons were substituted for emirs. Monks and monasteries supplanted dervises and caravansaras. Towers and belfries superseded the graceful minaret. Circumcision was transferred from the persons to the purses of subjects. Battlements, moats, and barbicans came to be so multiplied, that one of the largest and noblest kingdoms was thence supposed to have borrowed its appellation. Verily dishonest rhetoricians have had both rhyme and reason on their side, in adorning with the flowers of eloquence the manners of the middle ages,—identified as they are with their own appetite for plunder. Mariana has favoured us

with an instance illustrating aristocratic justice and liberality. From the siege of Cuenca in A.D. 1177, king Alonzo of Castile returned to Burgos, that he might hold an assembly of the states to arrange his finances. He there proposed that, as the commonalty were already ground down by taxation, his nobles should for once (without creating a precedent) consent to a small imposition upon themselves; at which Don Pedro de Lara declared that *the exemption of his order from sustaining any portion of the public burdens* should be defended with the last drop of his blood,—and that those might follow him, who were of his *disinterested* opinion. In one moment, a majority of the magnates arose, and defeated by their votes and clamour the proposition of their sovereign; resolving moreover to perpetuate the obligation they lay under to so conservative a grandee as Don Pedro de Lara, by giving him and his successors a splendid dinner upon each anniversary of the day made remarkable by this transaction. These oligarchs, it must be remembered, were only true to their vocation. They acted, as an hereditary house of lords, the most consistent part imaginable, in the honest spirit of Sancho Panza, when he had undertaken to lay a certain number of lashes upon his own shoulders. Human nature changes not; and selfishness will revolve upon its own centre to the end of time. Shortsightedness, however, is inseparable from it: and while these tyrants, great and small, were intent upon flaying their victims, or devouring one another, their divisions and ignorance let in upon them a despot more potent and ruthless than themselves. The church of Rome was watching from afar, and with an eagle-eye, every opening for aggrandizement. Sometimes professing to aid with papal thunders any perilous expedition against the Moslem, or at others, contriving to introduce her own ritual and services instead of the Visigothic liturgies, she at length claimed openly a supreme dominion over all conquests from the infidels. Partially resisted as this assumption was, with regard to feudal homage, ecclesiastical usurpations grew quite strong enough to interfere in popular affairs, or royal alliances; and to enforce spiritual interdicts upon stubborn princes, as well as upon an ill-informed, and therefore easily alarmed people. A network of mystical conjuration and influence was spread over all ranks of society by an opulent and pampered priesthood, monopolizing the little knowledge of their day, and pandering to the fears, hopes, and passions of those who could pay them most, or serve them best.

Yet for more than twenty generations, to such as discern only the surface of things, the main and absorbing agony seemed to be, whether a false or genuine religion was finally to prevail. Numerous were the fluctuations of success and failure on both sides. About A.D. 1000, the Christian power in Spain became almost united in the person of Sancho the Great, just when the

Arabian dominion appeared hastening to its dismemberment. But this prince divided his territories amongst his children, and even carved out a new kingdom, that of Aragon, for his illegitimate offspring. Absurd as such a policy of appanages proved, still greater degrees of disunion existed among the Moors ; until the Morabeths, animated by their novel form of fanaticism, breathed fresh vigour for a brief interval into the Mohammedan portion of the Peninsula. To them succeeded the Mowaheddins ; whose system, as another avatar of imposture, when it had passed away, only left its followers more exhausted than before, through the unnatural excitement. The grand engagement of Toloso, fought on the 16th of July, A.D. 1212, by Alphonzo VIII. of Castile, at length settled the matter. Two hundred thousand men are declared to have fallen on that fatal field : thirty-five thousand horses were captured : spears, javelins, and arrows thrown away in the flight, afforded fuel for a couple of days to the conquerors ; and other spoils were in proportion. Allowing, perhaps, much for exaggeration, certain it is that from this memorable action, the bow of the Miramamolin was broken for ever. Emir after emir revolted into separate and conflicting principalities. The entire and advancing frontiers of Spanish christendom bristled with lines of fortresses in the hands of carefully selected garrisons permanently settled in their stations, like the Roman borderers. The military militia of St. James had now also reached its zenith in efficiency. Intrigue completed the work. One Moorish leader was broken and crushed against another ; each successful competitor fattening into a richer prey in his turn. Nor were the internal sources of ruin otherwise than plentiful, in the general corruption of their manners,—their adoption of African and oriental effeminacies,—the recklessness, giddiness, ambition, and perfidy, which sacrificed public interests to private advantages.

Islamism soon shrank within the boundaries of Andalusia ; while the four Christian crowns of Castile, Aragon, Navarre, and Portugal, in their various circumstances, grew and flourished. The first, after a civil contest between Pedro the Cruel and his spurious brother, Henry of Transtanamara, had added Biscay to Leon, and waxed as proud, mighty, and bigoted as the pope or his emissaries could desire. The second now included Catalonia and Valencia, besides its foreign acquisitions of Sicily, Sardinia, and the Balearic isles, together with the Greek duchies of Patras and Athens. The third proved the least important ; and through female succession passed from the family of Bigorre and the Counts of Champagne to the Kings of France, and the houses of Evreux and De Foix ; until Aragon having deprived John d'Albret of more than half, the Capets obtained and kept the remainder. Portugal, as the fourth, continued to thrive under a

dynasty of prudent princes, but of course cannot fall within the scope of the present article. Early in the fifteenth century, an attempt was made to effect an union between Castile and Aragon; an object secured, before the close of it, by the marriage of Ferdinand to Isabella. Gibraltar had been captured by the Dukes of Medina Sidonia and Arcos, assisted by the Grand Master of the order of Alcantara; so that the conquest of Grenada seemed alone requisite to perfect their felicity and renown. The factions of the Zegri and Abencerrages were fast tearing to pieces that fragment of the realms of Abdelrahman. Yet for ten years was the Vega of the Xenil and the Darro drenched in vain with blood. Like a lion at bay, the believers in the koran felt their courage roused at every gory wound. Twenty thousand expired under the walls of Bœza; and although the passes of the Alp-jahrra failed to be a Thermopylæ for the Moors, the latter summoned all their strength around their devoted capital. It was reported to have contained, in its most palmy state, no less than 60,000 habitations and upwards of 400,000 souls. Perceiving from their beleagured citadel the rising fortifications of Santa Fé, which thus left them nothing to hope, valour maddened itself into despair! The flower of their warriors had fallen, and famine stalked through their streets. They thronged the mosques, imploring a miraculous interposition; or having assembled confusedly in the cemeteries, the air resounded with lamentations, as they embraced the cypresses, and wept over the sepulchres of their fathers. Ferdinand himself was moved to grant them tolerable terms, to be observed by his royal conscience, just so far as might prove convenient. Mohammedanism had reigned in Spain for seven hundred and seventy-nine years. Bigotry gloated over beauty amidst the ruins of its mangled prize; thousands upon thousands of Jewish and Moorish families withdrew from its fury; while the symbol of faith and holiness was blasphemously said to have triumphed, where persecution and ungodliness had rivalled the simoom of the desert.

Not as yet had the discovery of a new world worked well for mankind, when amongst the vast dominions inherited by Charles the Fifth, Spain was to be the foundation of his power. Popular rights of election were waning from lapse of time into neglect or oblivion. Aragon and Catalonia still retained many of their privileges: but they proved far too weak against an encroaching and crafty tyrant, allied with an ecclesiastical party in all its prejudices, so as to achieve through its instrumentality his own domination. The Grand Masterships of St. Jago, Calatrava, and Alcantara, had become vested in the crown; by which means the sovereign maintained an irresistible as well as irresponsible influence amongst nobles, whose sons were aspiring to promotion; and whose pride of birth and rank expatiated in the atmosphere

of his court. They conferred moreover the patronage of twenty-seven dignities, one hundred and seventy-two rich benefices, and the command of three military unions. Domanial estates and subsidies formed the other fountains of royal revenue. The Cortes of Toledo in A.D. 1480, had reluctantly revoked certain landed alienations, the profusions of a previous reign; and Cardinal Ximenes improved the wools of Castile, by imitating the Aragonese graziers, and importing rams from Barbary. He made his ungrateful master the proprietor of five million sheep, under the care of twenty-five thousand shepherds; each flock containing a myriad, and each stock, as it was termed, at least one thousand. The Alcavala, or tax on all purchases, including the monopoly of salt, grew under the same minister into a convenient engine of state, by employing innumerable officers, establishing a general espionage, and arming government with weapons for the coercion of all classes. Yet it was the Inquisition that invested the throne with its thickest gloom,—with a darkness that might be felt! Mendoza at Seville had already sketched the accursed plan. Synods, archbishops, and even popes, who foresaw what strength it would impart to the sceptre, resisted as long as they dared. Concession, rather than consent, was wrung with difficulty from Sixtus the Fourth: and Thomas of Torquemada, brother and prior of the Holy Cross at Segovia, had the fearful honour of being the first inquisitor! His official array comprised two hundred familiars, and a personal guard of fifty horsemen. From that moment, freedom of thought or action was at an end. Emigration conveyed to other shores wealth and intelligence, which might have constituted at home the elements of prosperity and happiness. Ferdinand upon one occasion, and only one, is affirmed to have paused. His native kingdom had offered an immense sum of money, if he would exempt it from the cruel scourge. The Justiza interceded on the side of humanity: a tumultuous mob at Saragossa had murdered a sub-inquisitor before the altar of the cathedral: a province had even revolted under similar circumstances: and then the golden subsidy hung glittering in the eyes of the avaricious monarch. During this state of irresolution, Torquemada entered the chamber where Isabella and her consort had met, with a crucifix concealed under his mantle. In the course of discussion he suddenly displayed it to their astonished gaze, exclaiming in all the genuineness of religious fanaticism,—‘He, whom your majesties behold, was sold for thirty pieces of silver; and if you again betray him, He will verily avenge himself!’ Leaving the crucifix before them, he withdrew; when it was resolved to introduce the inquisition into Aragon, at the point of the sword. Leon and Valencia resisted to a later period; but with results equally unfortunate. Such was the consummation of the conspiracy between church and

state against the spirit and character of a valiant though misguided people. In vain had the seizure of Naples augmented the external grandeur of Spain, and fully compensated for the cessation of its nominal sovereignty over Greece. Although her soldiery vied with the noblest in the world as to courage and experience : although the revival of letters and invention of printing were about to animate her schools and universities : although the enterprize of Columbus had opened upon her the wonders of another hemisphere : although her soil was fertile, her climate serene, her rivers navigable, and her havens secure ;—yet when an oppressive aristocracy bowed down in the dust whence it should never have risen, superstition erected upon its ruins an absolute throne, and rendered their magnificent country the Alhambra of civilized Europe !

Nothing, in fact, short of the Reformation, could have saved her ; had that been permitted to dissolve her bondage, and remove her corruptions. But alas ! too many jailors and tormentors, under the auspices of the new institution, stood all ready at their posts, to trample out every spark of truth as it fell among them, which might otherwise have lighted up the land. Valladolid, and afterwards Madrid, was the centre of a government getting daily more and more despotic. In 1539, Charles V. excluded the nobles and prelates from the Cortes of Castile, because they refused the supplies he demanded, part of which were to fall upon their own orders. That famous assembly, thenceforward limited to the deputies of eighteen cities, quickly degenerated into a junto subservient to the crown. In 1592, the office of Justiza was abolished in Aragon by Philip II. The proudest lords were learning obedience to a superior, without cultivating the slightest attachment to social patriotism. Heraldry and games absorbed their attention. The people themselves, so long as they obtained employment, forgot to concern themselves about their masters. Meanwhile the two sovereigns, from whose frown liberty and popular privileges had faded away, presented before a wondering world, the most fearful spectacles of ambition. Tyranny involves its own sting. Retribution lies concealed in every draught of the poison of irresponsible power. Charles and his son Philip are the helots of history ; specimens, exhibited by selfishness, of what a royal or imperial slave of slaves may become ; examples of the perfect hatefulness and horror of moral or political inebriety. Intoxicated with flattery, they could never manage well enough even for their own affairs, and much less could they do so for the good of their subjects. They therefore looked abroad for external aggrandizement, instead of at home after internal ameliorations. Their ministers served them upon similar principles. Like sots of another sort, aristocrats and viziers are always bullies. Pains were taken to mingle in every quarrel, and appropriate

whatever could be acquired. Aggression, in other words, formed the staple of Spanish policy : so that bearing in mind the tribunal of the King of kings, we would fain say to every nation and individual, throughout the habitable universe, 'He that hath ears to hear, let him hear !'

It was from the close of the fifteenth century, that the necessity of preserving a balance of power among the states of Europe came to be generally understood. Politicians perceived, that if some single leviathan were permitted to eat up his fellows, all that variety and contrariety of interests would cease, which prevent mankind from stagnating into the stillness of Asiatic despotism. Charles, under the glare of his German diadem, had set his heart on becoming just such a leviathan. His kingdoms of Castile and Aragon had voted him large subsidies, upon his solemn oath that he would consult their real interests : but, like the freebooter in *Zadig*, he was resolved at every hazard to aggrandize himself, and enlarge his territories,—to play the part of a Seigneur Brigand,—to fulfil *sa charge de Receveur très bien, et point du tout celle de Payeur !* Voltaire had read human nature, when he thus wittily portrayed the type of tyrants. That, which was the birthright of independent multitudes, seemed nothing else in regal estimation, than the farm or property of a private individual. Hence the entire career of the imperial persecutor of Lutheranism and oppressor of the Peninsula. Yet no relief resulted from his death or resignation. There was a royal cub in reserve whose teeth and claws had reached maturity. The possession of Lombardy and Naples made the court of Madrid dominant at Rome and Florence, so that Philip the Second had little to fear in that quarter. It was among the Flemings that a spirit had arisen, which no despot can endure. Hardy and industrious men, attached to their ancient freedom, and their modern reformed faith, gave umbrage and occasioned uneasiness to the proud monarch, who was always addressed by his courtiers on their knees ; and who had declared, that 'he had rather be without subjects than reign over heretics.' The Netherlands were at that time in the most flourishing condition, full of cities, towns, and villages, overflowing with excellent artizans and opulent merchants. Their gloomy master was the patron of bishops and the Inquisition. For the former he erected many new sees : for the latter he was preparing to shed blood like water : for both, he poured troops, arms, and treasures into Flanders.

No period in history can be more striking than the revolution which ensued ; and which having acted first upon all Europe, reacted in the sequel upon Spain herself. Freedom was to be suppressed, and the Council of Trent established. Perfidy, prevarication, and massacre, hesitated at nothing. Concessions, whenever offered, always arrived too late ; or at least only just in

time to demonstrate the inherent pusillanimity of oppression. The Duke of Alva marched against the patriots, with the choicest warriors amongst his countrymen. A tribunal was set up, called the Bloody Council, with Vergas, a lawyer, at its head, respecting whom courtiers declared, that 'his keen knife would cut out 'the gangrene of the Netherlands!' He and the duke were models of the conservatism of their day. Their maxim evidently was, that 'a government must be feared in order that it may be 'loved,'—in contradistinction to sound liberalism, which maintains that 'it must be loved, in order that it may be feared.' Alva and his associate murdered in the name, and by the weapons of Spain, about eighteen thousand individuals through the executioner alone! This was, indeed, the red work of six years: but within a few days after their arrival, above one hundred thousand persons withdrew from the storm. Europe looked on with amazement. Such as refused to fly stood upon their hearths,—invoked heaven to their aid,—braved destruction,—and defied their enemies. High and holy was the spirit of many a nameless hero. The sweet sound of liberty raised bulwarks more magnificent than their sea-walls, against the wealthiest, most powerful, and most politic tyrant of their times. Providence and natural habits were on their side. These men owed their soil and their existence to freedom; since they could preserve neither from the ocean without immense labour; and no labour will be long voluntarily continued by slaves. They, in fact, fought with their industry in one hand, and their swords in the other. They feared neither the chivalry of the *Hidalgoes*,—nor the bloodthirstiness of priests or princes,—nor the artifices of obsequious statesmen. They were determined to succeed or die; and their success was equivalent to their merits.

Shallow and superficial must be that mind, which fails to perceive in all these passages of her history, the elements of the degradation of Spain, even down to our own days. The contest between Holland and Philip II. was an anticipation of that between England and America. Alva demanded fresh forces; and obtained them. The tempest thickened. Fire and the sword, gibbets and halters, the axe and the wheel put principles to the test: nor whenever the less hideous processes of craft and imposture could avail, were they for an instant suffered to remain idle. The name of tithes, for example, was an abomination, and its imposers, therefore, christened it with a new appellation. Yet was the veil thoroughly seen through, just as it now is by the Irish Catholics or English Dissenters. Oppression is oppression: injustice is injustice. Persons able to read and think never can be persuaded that spoliation is a good thing either for soul or body. None felt this more than the *Netherlanders*. Passive resistance gave way to active reprisals. Bloodshed on shore was

succeeded by similar atrocities at sea. Admiral Coligni advised the fitting out privateers, which, under the quaint soubriquet of Sea-Beggars, degenerated into pirates, plundering friends or foes with small distinction. In the outset, however, they were of service. Hatred against the Escorial deepened. Its whole dominion seemed at an end from the Zuyder Zee to the French frontier; which would have been realized, had not the massacre of St. Bartholomew stunned the struggling Protestants. Reverses then ensued, and afterwards successes. Alva gave up in despair. Mutinies broke out on both sides. But the invaders never could recover their celebrated discipline, which had so long rendered them terrible. Here, therefore, we perceive the miserable fruits to aggressors of anti-liberal policy. Spain in the present instance had to drain the very dregs of bitterness. Philip and his parasites awoke from their protracted dreams. Health, affluence, prosperity, and even solvency had all been sacrificed to vain glory and unsuccessful projects. Fearful was the pressure for money. Millions upon millions of crowns disappeared in the bottomless pit of a disgraceful war terminating in national bankruptcy. Obstinate pride and ambition, on the part of an autocrat, had given birth to that young republic, which derived its glory and advantages from the shipwreck of its enemies. The Hollanders now insisted upon being acknowledged as a free and emancipated people. For this they had fought a good fight amidst incredible hardships. Their marine comprised 70,000 sailors, and 200 armed vessels. Dutch mariners explored the straits of Magellan, and circumnavigated the globe. An East India Company started into almost precocious existence. So vast were the energies of those thus aroused into a consciousness of strength, that freedom and trade settled down at Amsterdam and her sister capitals, in magnificent contrast to the decline and humiliation of the Peninsula, bleeding at every pore, and not as yet sufficiently instructed.

Nevertheless the court of Madrid had line upon line, and precept upon precept. England had slowly and surely identified her interests with those of the United Provinces, in plundering the rich argosies and settlements of Spain. Philip might probably have conciliated Elizabeth, but he preferred attacking her: and so he reaped his reward. So large was the cost of the Invincible Armada, that Mendoza assured the great President De Thou of an expenditure exceeding 36,000,000 pieces of eight, prior to its assemblage in the Tagus. Its fate is well known: and with it withered the right arm of Spanish domination. It was never thoroughly feared afterwards. British admirals ventured into the very den of the lion, and plucked his beard with impunity. The nakedness of that haughty power, before which Christendom had quailed, was uncovered in the presence of

mockers and scoffers, whose lampoons inflicted torture from the Pyrenees to Portugal. An arrival of the Plate-fleet came to be considered a miracle. The Azores were but just rescued. The court of Madrid, in the depths of its mortification, turned its attention from Britain to France; expecting that there it might prove more fortunate. Amidst the confusions of that then unfortunate country, where the sword of Damocles literally hung over the head of its profligate sovereign, whose mother was the Jezebel of her age, Philip entertained the project of adding the whole to his own dominions, through the marriage of an Infanta with the young Duke of Guise. Boundless sums were again expended for purposes which could be productive of no benefit to his subjects. The relief of Paris by the Duke of Parma, on behalf of the League, occasioned the final loss of Holland to Spain. Golden ingots were forwarded overland to Namur, to be there coined into ducats for corrupting the assembly of deputies in the French capital, that they might be induced to countenance the claim of the Infanta to Bretagne, the assumption by her intended husband of the crown, and the subsequent nuptials of these royal puppets. But all such chimeras vanished before the genius of Henry the Fourth and his minister Sully. The peace of Vervins wrenched from Spain the possession of Blaret in Bretagne, besides Calais, Ardres, and several other places in Picardy. The duchy of Burgundy was reserved for discussion, but was never claimed afterwards; and within one hundred years Louis XIV. embraced Franche Comté itself within his frontiers. Spanish encroachments in Germany appeared equally pregnant with immediate suffering, and ultimate failure; partly through the rapacity of Mendoza, who styled himself the Attila of heresy,—a scourge commissioned by the Almighty. In the end, an immense balance of loss accrued: nor did aggression really answer better even in Portugal. Philip, on the demise of its cardinal sovereign, had seized upon and retained it. Yet the value and beauty of the prey disappeared under the rude grasp of its ravishers. Six millions of crowns constituting the Lusitanian revenues, whilst those of an independent state, unexpectedly dwindled through Castilian mismanagement, to a few hundred thousand; not above a miserable fragment of which found its way into the treasury, either at Madrid or Lisbon. Its once boasted navy sunk into utter insignificance. The greater part of the discoveries of its better days fell away to strangers. The Dutch enriched themselves at the cost of both countries, by acquiring the Moluccas and all the East Indian factories, excepting Goa. A twenty-eight years' war, reminding us in its protracted duration of that in the Peloponnesus, against the Braganzas and their allies, subsequent to the revolution of A.D. 1640, evolved only accumulative disgraces. Portugal proved to Spain nothing else than a magnificent source

of weakness. All Europe, save herself, was in advance. Her colonial system experienced no improvement from a temporary and uncertain connexion with the Brazils: nor had her rulers talents, or temper, or discernment for any other occupation than doing mischief. They drove into exile the few grandees and patriots not agreeing with themselves. They hunted out the Jews or Morescoes, as if leprosy and plague had been their sole inheritance. Their diplomacy was wasted upon matrimonial alliances, which through a chain of unanticipated events, transferred their native kingdom to the loathsome Bourbons. How much better would have been an amicable union between Spain and Portugal, based upon mutual good offices, and an extinction of all prejudices. The larger country might have been protectress to the less. Appalling destruction of human life, the exhaustion of both exchequers, the suspension of industry, and that development of infernalism which war produces, might all and each have been spared. Spain would have escaped the misfortunes of Estramadura, Elvas, Eborá, and Montesclaros: and her sister state might have continued to be the Phenicia of the Atlantic.

Equally imbecile were the administrations of Lerma and Olivarez. The former could just discern that the phantoms pursued by his predecessors must be abandoned; since no kingdom could survive an uninterrupted career of depletion. Richelieu and Mazarine were more than a match for them; as well as for Don Lewis de Haro, who wound up the peace of the Pyrenees. The feeble sovereign of this last minister expired soon after Louis the Fourteenth emerged from his minority; whilst Charles the Second at Madrid, successor to Philip the Fourth, was the sport of faction and fortune. The sun of Spain seemed to have gone down. Her commanders had been beaten by sea and land: public execration had driven one favourite after another from the shelter of the throne. Rousillon, Artois, and Jamaica, were added to previous losses, besides Franche Comté, which speedily followed. The Spanish and Dutch fleets, now seen fighting side by side in strange concert, were defeated, shattered, and burnt, by the Duke de Vivonne at Palermo: and after the pacification of Nimeguen, the flag of Spain was always compelled to pay homage, on the ocean, to that of France. The victorious Bourbon again fleeced, and then spurned his feeble foe, in the disgraceful truce of Ratisbon. Seasonable remittances from America just came in time to stave off another national insolvency. The foulest intrigues were meanwhile agitating Madrid, having in prospect the approaching decease of its childless sovereign. Schemes, relative to his succession, occasioned the celebrated partition-treaties between England, Holland, Bavaria, Austria, and France. As the grave yawned before him, the furious measures of the different

competitors distracted, if they turned not altogether his mind. It was given out that he was bewitched; and father Moro, a monk from Turin, endeavoured gravely to deliver the royal soul from various enchantments of the devil. His real evil spirits were the courtiers and bribed confessors around him. He felt inclined to be just; and after much hesitation, at the request of Portocarrero, he subscribed a testament declaring Philip of Anjou the rightful claimant, on condition that Spain should be preserved as an undivided and independent monarchy.

Then came the Twelve Years' war, involving within its fearful ravages all civilized Europe. Spain, at once the prize contended for, and the victim of her own follies, beheld the great battles of Luzara, Almanza, Almanara, Saragossa, and Villa Viciosa. She also suffered from the destruction of her marine and treasures at Vigo; witnessed the sieges of Barcelona and the vagaries of Lord Peterborough; and saw her metropolis thrice in the occupation of hostile forces. It is remarkable that by the will of a Castilian king, as early as the thirteenth century, one of the reigning family of France was to inherit his dominions, had a certain contingency occurred. The Peace of Utrecht more than realized such a bequest. The Spanish monarchy, shorn of its Italian possessions, deprived of the key of the Mediterranean, and of her share in the valuable Newfoundland fishery, was subjugated to Philip the Fifth. Catalonia and her patriots were abandoned, through the baseness of Bolingbroke, by the courts of Paris and St. James. A consequent insurrection was quenched in blood: whilst that new system, which had crossed the Pyrenees, at the price of such surrenders, actually resuscitated for a season some appearances of energy and prosperity, which wanted nothing more than proper management, to have conferred benefits upon every province. Orry, an able financier, assumed the direction of the exchequer. Relieved from external drains, he set on foot so many judicious arrangements, that the revenues rose to forty millions of crowns per annum. Extensive reductions in the land forces improved the efficiency of such as were really necessary. Once more the galleons could cross the seas in safety. The cessation of hostilities, leaving populous towns unmolested, allowed industry to revive, while the taxes were more punctually discharged. Well would it have been had Philip never married his second consort; or if Elizabeth Farnese could have banished a certain wily adviser to the principality of her parents at Parma.

This adviser was Alberoni, an ecclesiastic of lowly origin and lofty pretensions. His father was a gardener at Placentia; and the son assisted him in his business, until fifteen years of age, when he obtained a situation as bell-ringer in the cathedral. He used often to observe, that he then looked upon his fortune as decided. The tonsure, and a canonry, rewarded the quickness

and pliancy of his genius. His bishop patronized him, until he was able himself to patronize others; an instance of which materially conduced to his subsequent exaltation. On some particular occasion he had befriended Campistron, the pupil of Racine, and secretary to the Duke of Vendome. The dramatist, not to be outdone in kind offices, introduced his friend to the Marechal, on whom so favorable an impression was made, that he carried him to Paris as his chaplain, and there offered him preferment. The limits of the parish of Anet were not destined to satisfy a mind already fired with ambition. His great patron, therefore, took him into Spain, that he might become the medium of his correspondence with the Princess Ursini, then all-powerful at the court of Philip. The favourite adopted him in a moment; and got him appointed agent at Madrid for the Duke of Parma. On the death of Maria Louisa of Savoy, Alberoni conceived and executed the project of a marriage between the king of Spain and Elizabeth Farnese. Of course the young queen overwhelmed him with grateful favours. Her uxorious consort admired the graces of his person and conversation. He finally became his prime minister; and received a cardinal's hat from Rome. He had risen as rapidly as Richelieu; yet with a spirit of as extensive enterprize, he neither possessed the abilities, nor secured the fortune of that remarkable character. His talents were brilliant rather than solid. He could imagine far more easily than he could achieve. There was neither penetration to discern, nor skilfulness to extract the worm, which lay concealed at the very heart of the country. The range of his political vision was vast in its mere outlines; whilst not involving any minuteness or accuracy of details, his most splendid designs broke away into nothing before unprepared for combinations of circumstances. In short, they were no sooner formed, than they were either baffled or dissipated. No extraordinary grasp of thought was necessary to plan a re-union to the Spanish monarchy of Milan, or Sardinia, or Naples and Sicily; nor to effect paper alliances with the Russian Czar, Charles of Sweden, or the Ottoman Porte. His fame should have sought for its foundations in the conduct of domestic affairs,—in a revival of commerce and agriculture, in sound and upright reforms, and the maintenance of a pacific policy. When will rulers acquire unselfish views of what is due to their subjects and the world? When will they understand that what promotes universal good, advances private happiness? Every whole must consist of parts, each of whose interests can only be bound up in the welfare of the totality: and what is the entire human family but just such a whole? Alberoni was a mere meteor,—an ignis fatuus to the prince and people, whom he had rashly undertaken to govern.

Louis the Fifteenth of France, a sickly child, was in his minor-

ity, under the Regent Orleans ; but great doubts arose, with regard to the claim of this latter prince to the crown, in case of his ward's decease, as well as to the legitimacy of his regency, until that event happened, whilst Louis remained under age. Philip was inflamed by his aspiring minister, with the idea that he stood entitled to both, upon his right of relationship, notwithstanding the solemn renunciation, whereby before all Europe he had surrendered such pretensions for ever. The reviving resources of Spain were again to be blighted. Alberoni raised her marine to thirty ships of the line and frigates, four hundred and fifty transports, besides bomb vessels and galleys ; with the prospect moreover of large augmentation, so soon as about twenty more first-rates, then on the stocks, could be got afloat. Meanwhile his correspondence grew daily more extensive with the French malcontents of every class and party, through whose assistance he fondly trusted to extend his administration from the Escorial to Versailles. His ambassador Cellamar had projected a landing in Bretagne, and the conjunction of numerous troops with the insurgents of Poitou, who were to march to the capital, assemble the parliament, extinguish the power of the regent, and arrest his person. Many joined the conspiracy, which a courtesan is said in some voluptuous moment to have betrayed to the thoughtless Orleans. Intelligence almost simultaneous from our George the First and his cabinet, together with a number of papers seized at the Spanish embassy, confirmed the discovery. A quadruple alliance was formed between England, France, Germany, and the United States. The court of Madrid had no time to lose. One of their principal projects was to humble the emperor, and clip his wings in Italy. The first burst of the hurricane fell upon Sicily, where Admiral Byng soon annihilated his opponents, and for a season saved the island from the Spaniards. Their folly, however, required still further disappointments, and received them in due course. An invasion was to have been got up against Great Britain, to dethrone the house of Hanover, and re-establish that of the Stuarts in its stead ; towards which notable scheme, the approbation and assistance of Russia and Sweden were to be afforded. Ormond actually set sail from Cadiz at the head of six thousand soldiers, and encountered a storm off Cape Finisterre, which dispersed and disabled the expedition. One small detachment only landed in the Scotch Highlands, and were welcomed by a few amongst the Jacobite clans : within three days after which, the whole party surrendered at discretion. Neither the Czar, nor Charles the Twelfth, as may well be believed, ever ventured upon any adequate preparations : although another fancy of Alberoni was, that they might curb or curtail the commerce of London, on the one hand, and divide all Germany on the other by declaring war against the emperor. Spain

herself was quickly attacked by an army of six and thirty thousand men under the gallant Duke of Berwick. The capture of St. Sebastian, and the sieges of Roses and Pampeluna, in 1720, brought Philip to terms, and compelled him to dismiss his minister.

Fruitless were all his attempts to recover Gibraltar. England was undermining the trade of Spain; while the Buccaneers scourged her colonies. In vain did the Guarda Costas watch against adventurers and smugglers. Admiral Vernon destroyed Porto Bello. It was plain, that Madrid, by attending to Italy, when the war of 1733 had resulted in the acquisition of Naples and another secundo-geniture for the younger son of the queen, both neglected and ruined America. Her ministers let go their hold on solid advantages to catch at shadows and nonentities. It came to be settled by treaty, that none of the territories from Lombardy to Cape Passaro should ever be united to the crowns of France or Spain, or the imperial diadem. Thus each aggression produced exhaustion at home, and mortification abroad. Ferdinand the Sixth, with his able counsellor General Wall, felt the full force of these truths, and acted upon their convictions. On the accession of Charles the Third, in 1759, matters relapsed into their old channels. The new monarch became party to the family compact: which only manifested again and again the decrepitude of his once flourishing realms. From Portugal he was driven back with disgrace: the Havannah conferred upon its captors a prize of £2,000,000 sterling: a British squadron commanded the whole Mexican Gulf: Manilla and the Philippines capitulated to Cornish and Draper: the cession of Florida was another mark of defeat: and it was through Tory intrigues alone, that the British cabinet proved so ridiculously moderate in its demands. General Wall had been succeeded by the Marquess Squillace, a hasty and covetous Sicilian, occasionally deviating into sensible measures, but altogether unequal to his situation. His blunders, however, might have been forgiven or forgotten at Madrid, had he not in an evil hour for himself prohibited the use of flapped hats and long cloaks; which kindled tremendous riots, occasioned considerable bloodshed, and caused his speedy overthrow. The foolish affair of the Falkland Islands called forth an armament from Monte Video, and a pamphlet from Doctor Johnson. His patrons, indeed, had without question evinced less regard for English interest than for their own pensions and places, when they spared the honour of Spain in this respect, as also with regard to the Manilla ransom. It may be hard to say whether the poverty of the Peninsula was not on a par with its pride. At the commencement of the American war, Charles and his generalissimo O'Reilly had involved themselves in an extravagant contest with the Moors and Algerines, which as usual, after

enormous sacrifices and reiterated attacks, ended in total failure, and augmented the insolence of those pirates. The Spanish fleet had been nevertheless increased; and when Almodava withdrew from London, it joined a French squadron off Plymouth, and rode in ostentatious, though useless triumph, at the mouth of the British Channel. Near Cape St. Vincent in 1780, Rodney took four of their largest ships, drove a couple more upon the breakers, and blew up another in the heat of the action. The statesmen of Madrid afterwards joined the armed neutrality, and plumed themselves on sharing in a protection of European rights: yet at the peace of Versailles, they found themselves unable to negotiate a trifling loan; nor could the national bank, then instituted, obtain any general confidence. In the matter of Nootka Sound, and amidst the confusion produced by the French Revolution, no gleam of prosperity cheered their wretched country. Jervis and Nelson defeated them at sea: Trinidad was lost: Porto Rico and Teneriffe were attacked: Cadiz was bombarded: a moiety of St. Domingo had long been ceded to the French: and within a very few years Napoleon extorted Louisiana!

The court had been compelled by its necessities to procure through Ensenada, a concordat from Rome, determining that such estates, as the clergy might in future acquire, should not be exempted from taxation. Monks and bishops howled piteously at such sacrilege. But poverty has no ears: and two further enactments were obtained; namely, that in great public emergencies, the church should bear its share of the burden, and that the nomination of inferior benefices should belong to the sovereign. An extraordinary degree of influence was thus obtained by the crown over the ecclesiastical body, constituting, if we may believe Ustariz, no less a proportion than one-thirtieth of the entire people. Squillace was said to have always had an eye to clerical property as his ultimate means for repairing the national finances. The principal fountains of revenue were twelve; averaging nominally about £10,000,000 sterling per annum under Charles the Third. He was even enabled to set apart an annual sum as a sinking fund for redemption of the debt; which grew, however, in spite of professed retrenchment, through actual recklessness and prodigality. In vain had a council of war the personal presidency of their monarch; and in vain was the muster-roll of one hundred and forty regiments swollen with sounding titles of marshals, generals, and brigadiers; when their ranks were never known to number 100,000 effective soldiers. Their naval system was just as rotten at its very core. The battle of Trafalgar annihilated their last vestiges of a fleet; the usurpation of Joseph Buonaparte, and the subsequent campaigns, originated that struggle between absolutism, aristocracy, and liberty, at present passing before our eyes; and beyond the ocean, out of her immense

transatlantic colonies, the Chilian, Peruvian, Mexican, and Argentine republics were commencing their wonderful career. Here again we discern the folly of coercive measures; starting in injustice, proceeding upon aggression and oppression, producing sometimes temporary success and always enormous misery, amidst every thing that patriotism must execrate and philanthropy deplore.

From the close of the last war to the death of Ferdinand the Seventh, those symptoms were manifested and matured, which mark the state of a country passing from an old into a new order of existence. The elements of the change had doubtless as early a date as the commencement of the French Revolution; whose influences met with no hindrances to their diffusion, either in the natural barrier of Pyrenees, or the precautions of terrified despotism. Kings, nobles, and priests, from Lisbon to Moscow, and from London to Vienna, would willingly have bartered all their invisible hopes beyond the grave, for an exemption from the visible reforms on this side of it, which they foresaw that event would produce. For four years after the assemblage of the Cortes in 1810, the voice of something like popular opinion began to be heard amidst the horror of arms, and the crash of antiquated institutions. But Ferdinand and his monks, although hailed on their return with acclamations, were the dregs of an earlier century. While large classes were gasping for a constitution, the clergy were looking after the arrears of their tithes; the regulars were counting their beads in chapel, or their money out of it; and the sovereign was embroidering a petticoat for the Virgin Mary. They had none of them an idea that the age was gone, when royal councils debated upon the mysteries of the immaculate Conception; or whether the patronage of Spain should be taken from St. Jago de Compostella, and conferred upon some miraculous Theresa; or whether the archangel Michael should be coadjutor to their favorite apostle, who had so often mounted his white charger to conduct Spanish armies, until his reputation got marred by the victory of Condé at Rocroi! The consequence was that the Cortes was dissolved, and every abuse it had abolished was restored. Conspiracies and insurrections burst forth in a thousand places. Europe was vibrating in every member; and Spain was part of Europe. Her court personated the Holy Alliance, her grandees the conservative aristocracy, and her hierarchy the high-churchmen of christendom. Yet immense masses of her population thought, and justly thought, that they had deserved some other reward, for their gallant efforts in expelling the French, than the honour of being fleeced by an overpaid prelacy, crushed by a proud impoverished oligarchy, immured in dungeons by the inquisition, or roasted alive at an *Auto da Fé*. It may be very true, that from local circumstances she

peasantry are not, or were not much aggrieved in their own proper persons, by the mismanagement of their rulers; yet their very apathy towards freedom demonstrated at once the extent and depth of their degradation. All who possessed any particle of political or intellectual knowledge felt sorely aggrieved; and these were the light and life of the land. Such persons ranged themselves in contradistinction to the Absolutists, under the classification of Moderates and Democrats: which three divisions find their analogies and parallels everywhere. They form the past,—present,—and future tenses of the all-important verb, *To GOVERN*; at least in its passive voice. The only difference between such sections in Spain and the corresponding ones amongst ourselves, was that the former were then in a condition of deeper excitement: they were more immediately under the process of changing places; and, therefore, exhibiting the tremendous momentum of recoil. In 1820, after a ten years' fitful interval, during which the siege of despotism had never been lost sight of, Riego and Quiroga with their army, at the isle of St. Leon, suddenly proclaimed a constitution:

Invadunt urbem somno vinoque sepultam;
Cæduntur vigiles, portisque patentibus omnes
Accipiunt socios, atque agmina conscia jungunt!

It has been, as we think, correctly stated, that this constitution more completely developed the principles of liberalism than the Spanish mind was then prepared to approve; and the supposition may be just, that as knowledge must be instilled by degrees, like water poured into a narrow-necked bottle, so liberty must not be effused all at once upon an uneducated, and therefore an unprepared people. The king, nevertheless, swore that he would be a *nursing* father to freedom: the moderates gave in their adhesion: selfishness made loud professions of regard for order, with large mental reservations, as to joining the successful side. The massacres at Cadiz (a city brutalized by its bull-fights), afforded an unfortunate handle to those who turn pale at accidents connected with the revival of liberty; but who jump for joy, ring their church-bells, kindle bonfires, and chaunt *Te Deums*, when the slaughter of myriads has crimsoned some triumph of legitimacy. Ferdinand was in the hands of a liberal ministry; and they of course trusted him about as much as men would trust an unmuzzled hyæna out of his cage. Yet our Tories, let it be well remembered, thought it very hard and cruel, that so virtuous a potentate, in the plenitude of his hereditary wisdom, should be under any shackles whatsoever to the revolutionary leaders. 'A Cortes assembled,' says Coote in his work supplementary to that of Russell on Modern Europe, 'and promoted with zeal the regeneration of the kingdom. The exclusive privileges of the nobles

‘were suppressed, or curtailed; the administration of justice was purified: abuses in the various departments of state were corrected; the lands of the church were partly appropriated to the public service; arrangements were made for the reduction of the national debt (which amounted to 100 millions sterling): and the assembly also attended to the revival of commerce and industry;’ vol. vi. p. 576. Can we conceive any thing more hideous than all, or most of these renovations, to every conservative and every high-churchman in Castile, Aragon, and Valencia? Did not a certain house, and does not a certain party, even in this country, sympathize with every throe and groan, seen or heard from Don Carlos and his absolutists, beyond the Bay of Biscay? Did they fail declaring, that not only their craft was in danger, but that the temple of the great idol mammon would be despised, and its magnificent prelacies, privileges, and monopolies destroyed, which all Europe and the world worshipped? When the session broke up at Madrid, three-fourths of the deputies formed themselves into a permanent committee to control the executive. That executive, in the perfection of its royal hypocrisy, contained within itself all the ingredients of the parricidal sack at Rome,—a cock, a viper, a dog, and a monkey. The misfortune was that the whole might not be thrown into the Manzanares! The cortes with their committee had more warmth of heart, with less coolness of judgment, than wiser men could have wished. Jealousies from within were inflamed by agitations from without. Civil commotion let loose her serpents through the provinces. France contrived to scatter and ignite innumerable combustibles; and then interfered, under the auspices of a congress, to quench her own incendiarism. Europe, at this time, was like the vision of Zechariah—‘the woman wickedness sitting in an ephah, with the weight of a talent of lead upon the mouth thereof.’ An army headed by the late Charles X. then dauphin, passed the Pyrenees, and pursued its slimy track from the Bidassoa to Cadiz. Riego was executed; Mina became an exile; promises of an amnesty were violated; and the question at issue between the constitution and its opponents seemed, and only seemed, both settled and sealed with gore, in favour of Ferdinand and his followers.

Violent was the vengeance of their brief triumph. Despotism avowed itself the shepherd of its people, in the spirit and conduct of a Polyphemus:

Ὅς ῥα τε μῆλα
Οἶος ποιμανεσκεν,—ἔων ἀθεμιστία ἤδη!

Its very diet was milk and blood; whilst an insatiable appetite required at least two victims a day. There was then, unhappily, no Ulysses to watch when the monster slept, and excæcate his dreadful eye! The descent of Tarifa in 1824, and of Torijos in

1831, cannot be thought of without tears. Luckily however, as Erasmus once said, every tragedy ends with a marriage. Ferdinand, hitherto a childless widower, wedded his fourth wife, had a princess born to him in 1830, and a second in 1832. Hence ensued two important alterations; an abolition of the Salic law, and a tendency to tolerate, if not espouse, a more liberal system. Through the first of these changes, Don Carlos, brother to the king, identified with the absolutists, ceased to be heir expectant. His own factious rage, with that of his numerous and powerful party, made it evident, that on the royal demise, the infant successor would be attacked by her uncle; so that, her main chance for safety must stand upon the goodwill of the liberals. Selfishness, therefore, in the garb of paternal affection, arrested the sword of their persecutor. Yet thankful for any respite, they cordially acquiesced in a return to the ancient customs of inheritance. Philip the Fifth, in the first year of his reign after the peace of Utrecht, had abrogated these; and introduced the French innovation, that no female should wear the Spanish crown. Clamours against it were drowned amidst the confusions of the times, and subsequently ceased to be remembered from the new mode remaining practically inoperative. In 1830, Ferdinand the Seventh, before the birth of his daughter, solemnly repealed it; and with the full consent of a cortes assembled for the purpose, he enacted for himself and successors, that his sceptre should descend to either sex, according to the venerable constitutions of Castile and Aragon. His vacillation in afterwards publishing a counter-decree, wrung from him during a severe malady, had no real effect; since, on the 31st of December, 1832, he put forth an autograph declaration that this counter-decree had been extorted, and that therefore he annulled it, adhering to his original intention of abolishing the Salic law. However, to make assurance sure, the cortes on the 20th of June, 1833, in the church of St. Jerome at Madrid, swore with all due formality to be faithful to the Infanta, as lawful heiress to the crown. The right of Isabella the Second was further fortified by the will of her father; he thus exercising his unquestionable prerogative of testamentary nomination. His death let loose the combatants. The young queen, with her mother as regent, ascended the throne. Don Carlos, assuming the style of Charles the Fifth, placed himself at the head of zealots for things as they were, under the banners of church and state, the virgin mother of God, and the inquisition. Biscay, Navarre, Catalonia, and Old Castile, seemed in different degrees disposed to uphold his claims. The constitutionalists possessed the capital, and derived their greatest strength from New Castile, Andalusia, Murcia, and Valencia. Blunders not a few attended the regent at her first setting out. She attempted to conciliate those who hated her cause, by throwing cold water on those who loved it;

of which conduct the utter hopelessness soon became apparent. The Carlists were disarmed, as far as possible, in Toledo and other cities; though their capabilities for mischief were as yet very far from being at an end. One class of circumstances, constituting their hold on the rural and frontier districts, may be worth particular mention.

Formed as the Spanish monarchy is, out of several kingdoms, it presents to the survey of statesmen a coat of many colours. In other words, each of its subdivisions retains certain political and judicial customs, which are vestiges of those ancient *fueros*, or constitutions, suppressed by Austrian and Bourbon princes. Thus the Aragonese live under laws, differing from those of Castile in civil matters. They pay only four or five per cent. on the produce of their lands, instead of the full tithes. Together with the Catalonians and Valencians, they return a fixed amount of impost, assessed among themselves, instead of those burthensome taxes called the provincial rents. Vizcaya, Guiposcoa, and Alava, the three provinces of the lordship of Biscay, as well as the viceroyalty of Navarre, have never even lost their representative assemblies. In the first, they meet biennially, or oftener if requisite. Every township has a vote, and sends one or more deputies, who, at the appointed time, seat themselves with rustic solemnity around the celebrated tree of Guernica, between Bilbao and Bermeo. The returns are here verified by a corregidor and syndics, who form a permanent deputation. This ceremonial being over, they adjourn to the hall of a neighbouring convent, where under the portraits of their ancestors, and with doors open to the public, they enact regulations for the welfare of their country, listen to royal messages, decide upon answers to them, examine accounts, vote supplies, and elect officers. We suspect these things are new to many of our readers. The corregidor is appointed by the king: the former residing, together with two deputies and syndics, as a sort of executive and administrative committee at Bilboa. Here, also, they hold a court of appeal from the local authorities. Each pueblo, or village, has its own *alcalde* or magistrate, appointed by the municipal council of the district, which administers the communal revenues for local purposes. The supreme tribunal is that of the Mayor of Biscay, nominated by the crown; and who, with his assistants, holds a peculiar court in the chancellery at Valladolid, both for criminal and civil causes; nor can the Biscayans be tried before any other judge. Neither are they subject to any taxes beside those paid to their ancient seignors; such as a moderate house and iron duty, tithes upon certain lands, and a tribute from the towns. There has, in fact, been no line of custom-houses between them and the French frontiers. Exempted from Spanish garrisons and impressment, it is only since 1820 that they have acknowledged the jurisdiction, as to military affairs, of the

captain-general at San Sebastian. Guiposcoa and Alava enjoy similar privileges. The last has only been legally obliged to pay £1160 sterling per annum, as an equivalent for its exemption from all other royal impositions. Navarre nominally possesses an independent cortes, composed of three brazos, or estates; the nobles, clergy, and burgesses. A council always resides at Pampeluna; the viceroy swears that he will respect the national privileges; nor are the Navarrese amenable to any but their own tribunals. They are subject, however, to the stamp, custom, and post-office duties, as well as to the crown-monopolies of salt, tobacco, and gunpowder; but not to the provincial rents, in lieu of which they submit to an annual yet fixed contribution. Such, in truth, were formerly the privileges of all Spain, until, through chicanery or violence, the king usurped the appointment of public officers to cities and large towns. The rural municipalities, not being objects of equal importance, contrived to retain still their elective character; so that independence, banished from the capitals, settled in a certain degree, as to temporal matters, amongst the peasantry, imparting to them that external dignity of demeanor so generally remarked by travellers. Unfortunately the new constitution, in its zeal for centralization and uniformity, cast no very amicable glances on the Fueros; whilst Don Carlos, on the other hand, pledged himself to their confirmation. Hence, the best and simplest portion of the Peninsula was embarked from peculiar circumstances on the wrong side. The quadruple alliance only augmented suspicion; and both England and France, it must be admitted, have much to answer for in letting the Pretender, as a royal Guy Fawkes, escape from Portugal, embrace his conservative friends in London, and then pass the Pyrenees.

At length there appears a fair prospect of terminating the civil war. A satisfactory arrangement of the finances, the general introduction of education, and an abandonment of aggression towards the South American states, can be no longer postponed; that is, if Spain is ever again to lift up her head amongst the family of civilized nations. Her annual expenditure on a war establishment may be stated at about £9,000,000; but on one of peace, at not more than from £5,500,000 to £6,000,000; exclusive, we mean, of the interest on her enormous debt, now exceeding £100,000,000! Her church property, however, is more than equal to this incumbrance; and now, instead of being locked up like a secret mine, under the magic lamp of Aladdin, it is happily under a process of diffusion, from one end of the country to the other. We refer to Lord Clarendon's eloquent and judicious statements, in his recent speech forming the head of our present article. An abolition of the salt and tobacco monopolies, would, beyond a question, double their returns, and render them worth to government two millions sterling instead of only one. Some improvements of the kind have already taken place with regard to

the manufactory of cut glass; as well as for facilitating internal trade and intercommunication. A commission has been appointed for several years respecting the post-office, a national system of education, and the censorship of the press. The more liberal constitution of 1820 has been re-established, with a few modifications, upon the ruins of its predecessor; yet still, almost every thing remains to be done. The absolutists, it is to be trusted, are prostrated; but the liberals, or exaltados as they are termed in Spain, find no favour in the affections of the regent, who has just thrown herself into the arms of the moderados or whigs; simply because these last have saddled her civil list upon the revenues of Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines, pledged as those revenues were for the exclusive and righteous use of the national creditors. Hence has ensued fresh dissatisfaction, another dissolution of the cortes, and a refusal on the part of Grenada, Cordova, Cadiz, Murcia, and Alicant, to pay any taxes, until honest ministers are again placed at the helm. Alas! where are able heads, in combination with just minds, to be discovered in the court of an intriguing profligate queen mother? The actual state of the Peninsula has too long answered to that melancholy portrait in one of the minor prophets: 'There is none upright among them: they all lie in wait for blood; they hunt every man his brother with a net. That they may do evil with both hands earnestly, the prince asketh, and the judge asketh for a reward; and the great man, he uttereth his mischievous desire: so they wrap it up. The best of them is a brier: the more upright is sharper than a thorn hedge: the day of their watchmen and visitation cometh; now shall be their perplexity.' Micah vii. 2—4.

We say, let Spain lose no time in being just towards her friends, and generous towards her enemies. Let her recognize the independence of her colonies in reality, as well as in name. Let her cultivate amicable relations towards ourselves, and learn to execrate the slave-trade. Let the Holy Scriptures find their way into the habitations and hearts of her people; and then may brighter periods break upon both her and Portugal, than when the one had Mexico and Potosi, or the other her Brazils, as well as her African settlements, with factories unequalled for their prosperity in India and China. Looking at the Peninsula through the prism of hope, rather than the telescope of fear, and in the spirit, we trust, of an enlightened philanthropy, one can discern no reason which good Christian government might not speedily obviate or remove, why its present population should not be doubled; why human industry should not revive from the Bidassoa to the Atlantic; why her rivers should not be connected, so as to afford extensive inland navigation; why commerce should not revisit all her havens; and the world once more admire the glories of a regenerated land. It has been truly observed, that the sums lavished on the Escorial, would have dug a canal from Toledo to

Madrid, so as to have connected that metropolis with the golden mouth of the Tagus! Peace, knowledge, liberty, religion,—these are the four cardinal reformers. The Holy Alliance, in refusing so long to recognise Isabella the Second, can no more arrest the progress of human happiness, should Spain become what she ought to be, than extinguish the sun, or roll back the tide. Let nations be but faithful to God and themselves, and neither the sword nor the coronet,—neither kingcraft nor priestcraft, shall stand before the hornbook of the schoolmaster! There are some significant symptoms, in the external form, and internal constitution of the Spanish cortes. Should their assemblies be enabled to settle down into good order and stability, it cannot be denied, but that in certain points, they will be nearer the gate of wisdom than ourselves. Their Upper House, as we should call it, erected and constructed as it is upon a basis broader than our own, may become potent in undermining the partition walls of that system of caste, amidst whose overthrow, so much prejudice will expire. Primogeniture and hereditary succession will be probed to the bottom. South America herself may one day exercise that secret influence of example upon its mother-countries, which the United States have done and are doing upon Great Britain, and the entire European family. Public happiness will spread in geometrical progression, when once the masses get enlightened, so as clearly to distinguish good from evil. We are all on the eve of a fearful struggle; but one which will terminate in just such a triumph as Hampden sighed for, and Washington was favoured to behold. The Spanish, Portuguese, and English languages, spoken as they are, and will be so generally in the old world, and from the Arctic regions to Cape Horn in the new, may faithfully record the fluctuating features of the contest: for they will applaud the honor and honesty of those alone who have founded their patriotism upon sound and genuine principles.

Since writing the above, we have had access to rather a recent exposition of Spanish finances. The revenue from 1814 to 1820 averaged above £6,500,000, very badly paid up, but of which the collection cost only fifteen per cent! The receipts and disbursements respectively of 1828 and 1832 stood thus:—

1828.

REVENUES.		EXPENDITURE.	
Land Tax	£1,470,000	Army	£2,650,000
Duties on Consumption	910,000	Navy	400,000
Imports and Exports	600,000	Collecting Revenues	1,450,000
Tobacco Monopoly	610,000	Justice	140,000
Salt Duty	400,000	Ministers of State	110,000
Licences, Stamps, &c.	130,000	Royal Household	500,000
Sundries	503,000		
Tax on Clerical Revenues	605,000		
			5,250,000
			5,228,000
	5,228,000		
		Excess	22,000

1832.			
Tithes	£400,000	Casa Real y Estado; that	
Provincial Rents	1,300,000	is to say, the Civil List	
Tobacco and Customs . . .	900,000	and Foreign Department	£620,000
Salt Duty	600,000	Finance and Pensions . .	800,000
Miscellaneous Taxes . . .	1,200,000	The Marine	420,000
Stamps	200,000	War Department	2,400,000
Doors and Windows . . .	600,000	Grace and Justice . . .	180,000
Sinking Fund	800,000	Sinking Fund and Foreign	
		Debt	2,080,000
	<hr/> 6,000,000 <hr/>		<hr/> 6,500,000 <hr/>

The largest Spanish budget ever known was under the Prince of Peace, in the time of Charles IV., when it amounted to £20,000,000 sterling! Yet, for 1839, it comes very near it, being 92,049,900 dollars, or in our money about £19,333,000; including the provision of interest upon the national debt. The revenues for this year are about £9,250,000, collected at the enormous cost of upwards of twenty-four per cent; the greatest portion of which charge, however, must be attributed to the civil war. These revenues, also, are exclusive evidently of the sales of church-lands; and will of themselves very much improve on the cessation of the present struggle. Thus, the Excise, instead of being £550,000 as it has been for the past twelvemonth, will be at least £800,000, if not a million sterling, for 1840. The tobacco revenues can be farmed for £1,000,000 more than they now yield; whilst parties are ready to give £350,000 in augmentation of the present salt-duty. From these three sources alone, there will be an increase of £1,600,000. The expenses, moreover, of collection will shortly come down to ten per cent., if justice only be done, which will save £1,400,000; so that, the next statement of receipts may show an amount of about £11,000,000 sterling in round numbers; and, taking the peace expenditure at £5,000,000, and the dividends on the national debt at £6,000,000 more, there is nothing to prevent Spain, humanly speaking, from setting herself right with the whole civilized world, as well as with her domestic creditors, within a very short period. Whether she possesses the moral strength to do this, is another matter, which time alone can show. Her public debt on the first of January, 1820, was 270,000,000 of dollars; in May, 1823, it had swollen to 335,000,000; in June, 1833, ten years afterwards, to 481,000,000; and in 1836, to 519,000,000 dollars, or about £105,000,000 sterling. The mal-administration of loans can only be compared to, if it be not excelled by the contracts of our own 'pilot, who weathered the storm,' alluded to by Sir Henry Parnell, in his useful work on Finance Reform, to which we would refer any of our readers, who may for an instant doubt

whether democracy be not consistently economical, and aristocracy as consistently extravagant. We conclude with the favourite quotation of Edmund Burke: *Magnum vectigal est PARSI-MONIA!*

Brief Notices.

National Church Establishments Examined: a Course of Lectures, Delivered in London during April and May, 1839. By Ralph Wardlaw, D.D. Third Thousand. London: Ward and Co.

The Committee of London Deputies have performed a good service in the publication of Dr. Wardlaw's Lectures at the cheap price of one shilling, and in a form of typographical elegance rarely equalled and never, perhaps, surpassed. We need do nothing more than transcribe the following passage from their brief advertisement to this edition. The hope it expresses can scarcely fail to be realized. 'Though published at a price that may render it everywhere accessible, they would announce that no curtailment has been made, but that Dr. Wardlaw has kindly revised the volume, and has added some notes, and made some verbal alterations, which undoubtedly are improvements. In this form, the Committee trust that all liberal and enlightened friends to free discussion, and the Voluntary principle, will promote the sale and distribution of these Lectures—which they concur with Dr. Wardlaw in hoping 'may contribute to bring the public mind into a right position respecting the great questions they discuss; and so to advance the cause of Christ's spiritual kingdom, on its way to separation from the world, and to final universality and triumph.' We specially recommend our ministerial brethren to promote the circulation of this reprint among the younger members of their flocks.

A Biblical and Theological Dictionary. For Bible Classes, Sunday-School Teachers, and Young Christians generally. Designed as an Illustrative Commentary on the Sacred Scriptures. With Numerous Wood Engravings. By Samuel Green. London: G. Wightman.

This work has been undertaken 'in order to supply to a certain class of readers extensive and various information scattered through numberless volumes, in illustration of the language and truths of the Bible—and of the manners, habits, and history, both of those nations through whom the Divine word has come down to us, and of neighbouring nations who are often adverted to in its pages.' This design has been followed out by the author with commendable diligence, and much good sense; and with a candor and urbanity of temper rarely met with in works of the kind. There is nothing sectarian, either in

its construction, or its spirit. The arguments of opposing parties are briefly and honestly stated, and the reader is left to sift evidence and to form conclusions for himself, rather than to place implicit trust in the dogmas of any teacher. We can honestly and warmly recommend the work as specially adapted to the class for which it is designed, and we trust it will obtain a wide and lasting circulation.

Literary Intelligence.

Preparing for Publication.

Shortly to appear, the first volume of a New Translation of the Genuine Works of Flavius Josephus, with copious Explanatory and Critical Notes, Preliminary Dissertations, and many graphic Illustrations.

The Rev. R. Slate, of Preston, has issued proposals for publishing a *History of the Lancashire Congregational Union*. The work has been undertaken at the request of the Ministers and Delegates of the County Union, and will probably be put to press in a few weeks.

Letters on India, with Special reference to the spread of Christianity. By the Rev. W. Buyers, Missionary at Benares.

Dr. Andrew Combe has in the press a new work on the Physical and Moral Management of Early Infancy.

Memoirs and Select Remains of the Rev. Thomas Rawson Taylor, late Classical Tutor at Airedale College, Yorkshire. By W. S. Matthews. Second Edition, revised. With a Preface by James Montgomery, Esq.

Just Published.

The Oration of Demosthenes upon the Crown, Translated into English, with Notes, and the Greek Text, with Various Readings selected from Wolff, Taylor, Reiske, and others. By Henry Lord Brougham, F.R.S.

The History of Christianity, from the Birth of Christ to the Abolition of Paganism in the Roman Empire. By the Rev. H. H. Milman. 3 vols.

The Religious Wars of France, from the Accession of Henry the Second to the Peace of Vervins. By Jonathan Duncan, Esq.

A Summary of the History of England. Translated from the French of Felix Bodin by Jonathan Duncan, Esq.

A Mother's Reminiscences of a Course of Reading and Instruction. In three parts. Addressed to her daughter by Mrs. Borron.

General History, briefly Sketched upon Scriptural Principles. By the Rev. C. Barth, D.D. Translated by R. F. Walker, A.M.

Ward's Library. The Holy Spirit a Divine Person; or, the Doctrine of his Godhead Represented. Practical Sermons on 1 Cor. xii. 11. By John Guyse, D.D. Reprinted from the Edition of 1721.

Theory of Parallels. The Proof of Euclid's Axiom looked for in the Properties of the Equiangular Spiral. By Lieut.-Colonel T. Perronet Thompson, F.R.S.

The Sidereal Heavens, and other Subjects Connected with Astronomy, as Illustrative of the Character of the Deity, and of an Infinity of Worlds. By Thomas Dick, LL.D.

Divine Meditations upon Several Occasions: with a Daily Directory. By Sir William Waller. To which is added a Short Account of Sir William Waller and His Times.

The Slave-Trade and its Remedy. By Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq.

Narrative of a Voyage to Madeira, Teneriffe, and along the Shores of the Mediterranean, including a Visit to Algiers, Egypt, Palestine, Tyre, &c. With Observations on the Present State and Prospects of Egypt and Palestine. By W. R. Wilde, M.R.I.A. 2 vols.

Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders ; with Notes corroborative of their Habits, Usages, &c. Remarks to intending Emigrants, with Numerous Cuts drawn on Wood. By J. S. Polack, Esq. 2 vols.

What Cheer? or, Roger Williams in Banishment. A Poem by Job Durfee, Esq.; with a Recommendatory Preface by the Rev. J. Eustace Giles, Leeds.

Sermons Preached in St. Paul's Episcopal Chapel, Walsall. By C. F. Childe, M.A.

A History of British Birds. By W. Yarrell, F.L.S. Part 17.

A History of Prices, and of the State of the Circulation in 1838 and 1839, with Remarks on the Corn Laws, and on some Alterations proposed in our Banking System. By Thomas Tooke, Esq., F.R.S.

Episcopacy, Ordination, Lay-Eldership, and Liturgies : considered in five Letters. By the Rev. A. Boyd, A.M.

The Canadian Naturalist. A Series of Conversations on the Natural History of Lower Canada. By P. H. Gosse.

Parochial Lectures on the Book of Jonah, delivered in the Parish Church of Cheshunt in a Course of Lent Lectures. By Matthew M. Preston, M.A.

Gatherings ; a Collection of Short Pieces, written at Various Periods. By the Author of 'The Listener.'

Christian Reasons of a Member of the Church of England for being a Reformer. By Ross D. Mangles, Esq.

Family Worship. A Series of Prayers, with Doctrinal and Practical Remarks on Passages of Sacred Scripture, for every Morning and Evening throughout the Year ; adapted to the Services of Domestic Worship. By upwards of 150 Clergymen of the Church of Scotland.

The Protestant's Armoury ; being a Collection of Extracts from Various Writers on the Church of Rome, chiefly designed to show its Apostate, Idolatrous, and Anti-Christian Character. Compiled by a Lay Member of the Church of England.

Memoirs of James and George Macdonald of Port Glasgow. By Robert Norton, M.D.

The Whole Sermons of Jeremy Taylor and the Rules and Exercises of Holy Living and Holy Dying : with a Biographical Memoir.

Christian Liberty as Opposed to its Restrictions by the Veto Act, Patronage, and the Dependence of the Church on State Support. A Sermon. By H. Heugh, D.D.

The Naturalist's Library. Conducted by Sir W. Jardine, Bart. Entomology, Vol. 6. Bees.

Lives of the Queens of England, from the Norman Conquest ; with Anecdotes of their Courts, now first published from Official Records and other Authentic Documents, Private as well as Public. By Agnes Strickland. Vols. I. and II.

Man Responsible, for his Disposition, Opinions, and Conduct. A Lecture. By Isaac Taylor, Esq.

Anti-Bacchus ; an Essay on the Crimes, Diseases, and other Evils Connected with the Use of Intoxicating Drinks. By the Rev. B. Parsons.